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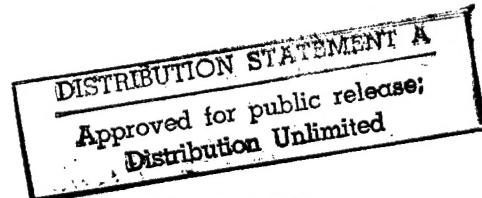
6 NOVEMBER 1986

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 NOVEMBER 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL'S GOLAN HEIGHTS POLICY DISCUSSED

HK040624 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 86 p 6

[ "Jottings" by Yue Lin [2583 7207]: "Indulging in the Wildest Fantasy" ]

[Text] News from the Middle East says that Israel is forcing inhabitants of the occupied Golan Heights to acquire Israeli citizenship as well as coercing them into taking part in Israel's elections.

Since its founding, Israel has continuously recruited Jews from all over the world in order to beef up its own sparse population. This is known to all. As long as it could latch on to someone, Israel would move heaven and earth to get them and not hesitate to spend money. For instance, it spent U.S.\$ 300 million in late 1984 to transport 25,000 Falashas from Ethiopia into the country. According to research, they are descendants of King Solomon and the Ethiopian Queen Sheba of 12th Century BC. Nevertheless, the Golan Heights is Syrian territory forcibly occupied by Israel during the third Mideast war in 1967. The inhabitants of the Golan Heights are not descendants of Hebrews and this does not need to be verified by research. To force them to acquire Israeli citizenship is really "baseless" and is no doubt a wild fantasy of the Israeli authorities.

However, from this coercion one can see the evil intention of Israel, which is to occupy this piece of Arab land permanently, and to disguise this act in legal clothing. It is not necessary to dwell on the uproar raised by the Israeli leaders. They have long cried that "only lunatics would withdraw from the Golan Heights". In late 1981, the Israeli Parliament approved resolutions to extend legislative, judicial and executive powers into the Golan Heights-- this signified Israel's attempt at a complete annexation of this land by legal means. Today, it wants to incorporate the people living in the Golan Heights as part of "its subjects", and seeks to thoroughly sever their ties with Syria. Indeed, it advances gradually and entrenches itself at every step, yet everyone knows its every twist and turn.

Still, will Israel realize its wishful thinking? This is not just for Israel to say.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW RULES FOR STUDYING ABROAD EXPLAINED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 8 Jul 86 pp 1-2

[Interview with a spokesperson of the State Education Committee by reporters of XINHUA and ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO; May 1986, Location not given; first paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] In May this year, a working conference on personnel studying abroad was convened by the State Education Committee. The Conference was covered by XINHUA RENMIN RIBAO, ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO, etc. Recently, no small number of readers have been writing to news agencies and newspapers asking questions about studying abroad. For this reason, reporters from XINHUA and ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO interviewed the person in charge of the State Education Committee. The following are his answers to our questions:

Q: It's said that we'll dispatch fewer personnel to study abroad. Is that true?

A: No. Just the opposite, our estimate is, not only will we not cut down the number, but we'll increase it. The reasons are: in the first place, while the number of students dispatched through state financial allocation will remain at the current level during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, on the existing basis one can predict an increase in the number of students on funds raised by their own localities, their departments or units, and exchange students. In the second place, with developing international exchange, the number of personnel selected and dispatched, subject to the state, locality, unit or individual being able to get the consent of the unit concerned, through various channels such as scholarships, loans and financial aid according to plans, will also be increased.

Q: At the Working Conference the State Education Committee emphasized implementing the dispatch-according-to-need principle. What concrete measures do you have regarding that?

A: At present, we are getting ready to take five concrete measures to do our utmost to dispatch students according to need:

1. We need to give more guidance macrocosmically. Disciplines that are urgently needed for the country's four modernizations, newly developing dis-

ciplines--these are the areas for which more personnel need dispatching. In areas which are already more developed domestically, fewer people need to be dispatched. Stress needs to be placed on dispatching visiting scholars and personnel for refresher courses.

2. In view of the fact that internally greater development has been made in postgraduate education, when it comes to dispatching graduate students, the number of graduates going abroad for postgraduate degrees should be reduced gradually, while the number of internally-trained fresh Master's Degree holders directly going abroad to study for doctorates should be increased. At the same time, we must actively open channels through which domestic tertiary institutions and scientific research institutions could jointly supervise Chinese Doctoral candidates with foreign institutions.

3. The present method of selecting candidates to do graduate work abroad needs restructuring. Beginning this year, the majority of the quotas for state-dispatched graduate students ahve been assigned to the personnel selection organs, which make selection decisions according to how the units need them and how the country needs them for reconstruction.

4. In selecting the right candidates, the selection organs must closely combine the needs for the country's reconstruction and the unit's actual situation. They should also consider how to make use of their expertise when they return and make sure certain conditions are available in good time.

5. Guidance and management should be augmented as regards personnel being dispatched abroad to study but not at the state's expense (including the personnel studying abroad who used to be labeled "self-supported and state-dispatched"), to make sure their selection and dispatch are in keeping with the needs of the state, according to plan, and goal-oriented.

Q: What does the state demand of personnel studying abroad?

A: For some years practice has proved to us that the overwhelming majority of the personnel dispatched to study abroad are good. Both the country and the people trust them and place great hope on them. We expect them to set strict demands on themselves without letting the people down. We expect them to make every effort to become ideal-oriented, moral, cultured and disciplined experts bent on the cause of socialist modernization reconstruction; to self-consciously fulfill their study mission in accordance with the needs of the country and the dispatch plan, and to return home in good time to take part in the four modernizations reconstruction and restructuring to carry out the duties and commitments due to them for the prosperity and strength of the country and the happiness of the people. Besides, we call for their fostering the thought of coming home with a pioneering fortitude, their cherishing the aspiration of strenuously producing first-rate results in the present situation where our country has not overcome all its difficulties, and we call for their dedication to the cause of the Four Modernizations in a down to earth manner.

Q: What are the new rules governing studying abroad at one's own expense?

A: Studying abroad at one's own expense is another channel for training qualified personnel, which the state will continue to support. Let's reiterate this. Politically, all personnel studying abroad, whether at their own expense or dispatched by the state, are treated equally without discrimination. They are afforded just as much concern and loving care. We have asked domestic departments concerned and foreign consulates to strengthen contacts with personnel studying abroad at their own expense and help them iron out their difficulties and problems. We also recently provided that the state shall help those financially who return upon graduating with a Bachelor or higher degree after studying abroad at their own expense. The state or units employing them shall subsidize their travel expenses and home settling costs.

Applicants with reliable financial guarantee from relatives or friends domestically or abroad, and with admission permits, they still can file their application for studying abroad at their own expense with their local units. But graduating students in universities and colleges and personnel at their posts wishing to study abroad at their own expense should have their application examined and approved by their own institutions or units before forwarding it to the department responsible for approval. Domestic graduate students as a rule cannot apply for studying abroad at their own expense

Q: Why this new provision against graduate students studying abroad at their own expense as a rule?

A: To make sure the normal order of postgraduate education in our country. Without this provision graduate students would rush abroad one after another after their applications had been accepted by the domestic graduate schools. This way it would upset the domestic postgraduate education planning. That would hinder the development of our postgraduate education enterprise. As pointed out in the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning Educational System Restructuring," the training of personnel with professional skills in this country should be gradually based on our own country. International academic exchange should be expanded, and adhered to over a long period of time. One purpose of dispatching personnel to study abroad is to make it possible for our country to cultivate personnel with such professional skills. We should now begin to make it possible, gradually, to depend on our own ability to cultivate such personnel. We believe the whole people, the masses graduate students included, understand this truth.

Q: Why then the reiteration to the graduating students at universities and colleges and the personnel at their posts the provision that they should file applications if they wish to study abroad at their own expense?

A: Graduating classes at universities and colleges are already enlisted in the (job) allocation planning. That they have become the useful persons they are is not only due to their own efforts, but also due to the great amount of manpower and financial resources the country and the people have spent on them. After graduation they should obey the state allocation according to state planning. As for those already employed, as employees they should also comply with the job requirements and arrangements as their units think fit. For these reasons, the above personnel wishing to study abroad need to have their application examined and approved by their institutions or units before submitting it to the department concerning for approval.

A: It was rumored recently that before a person leaves the country to study abroad, he or she has to pay the state 20,000 yuan as a deposit called "educational cultivation fee. Is that specified by the Educational Committee?

Q: The State Education Committee never did make such a provision. That is sheer fabricated rumor. At the Working Conference the committee proposed practicing a scholarship and loan system for personnel studying abroad at the State's expense and a system whereby the dispatched person and the dispatching unit enter into an agreement so that both parties' responsibilities, liabilities, and rights are clearly specified. That is only intended to perfect a management system to handle issues concerning personnel studying abroad. This has long been practiced in many countries throughout the world.

Q: What attitude does the Committee hold toward the issue of personnel abroad doing postdoctorate research?

A: Two points we need to clear up first of all. First, postdoctorate research does not lead to the first degree. Secondly, we have never objected to all postdoctorate research. The ultimate aim of postdoctorate research, we believe, is to benefit the development of our domestic science and technology. Viewed from this angle, we ask the graduate students who have acquired a doctorate abroad to come back first and work for a while at the domestic "postdoctorate" floating stations or at the lecturing or research units, and then, on the basis of the needs, go and do some research abroad. This way the research done abroad can be better combined with the domestic needs. Besides, if any domestic units concerned with scientific research demand some postdoctorate research to be carried out abroad by the few graduate students holding doctorates, this can also be done after approval.

From now on, our country will set some policies in this respect. These policies will help develop science education in this country. The State shall allocate special funds for holders of doctorates procured domestically or abroad and other domestic senior science researchers and teaching staff to operate exchanges with foreign (experts). Some of them will be able to go abroad to attend international academic conferences, others to do postdoctorate research, and still others will be able to carry out research cooperation.

Q: Any new specification concerning personnel studying abroad having their spouse to go abroad to visit them?

A: As for State-dispatched personnel studying abroad and visiting scholars, because their stay abroad is short, 1 or 2 years on the whole, therefore, according to our actual situations and our domestic relative-visiting system, the spouse visiting practice, is as a rule suspended.

Q: As for the State-dispatched graduate students who stay abroad over 3 years, we encourage them to return for vacation. For them, we have worked out a system whereby graduate students on public funding are entitled to come home for vacation at the expense of the State after a 1 and one-half or 2 year stay abroad. This way not only can they have a reunion with their family, but, more importantly, they may take the opportunity of their vacation to have a better understanding of the home situation and to have contacts with the

instructors of their own units. That is therefore a one-stone-two-bird practice. For their spouse at home, if they wish to go visiting relatives abroad for a short period, they could easily afford their expenses abroad. Subject to their units' approval following the application and arrangements being made regarding their work in their absence, their applications will be approved. During the specified period of their spouse-visiting abroad, their wages will be paid as usual.

One more point needs to be made clear concerning this issue, in the past there were personnel in some units who left behind their work and went abroad to do what they called "accompanied studies." That practice has nothing to commend it.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Zhou Ximing [6650 3556 2494]: "A Superficial Inquiry Into the Present Relationship Between the Two Forms of Structural Reform"]

[Text] The political and economic systems of socialism could be said to constitute two sides of the same coin--they are not only part of the same entity, but are inextricably interwoven with no clear line of demarcation. Therefore, reform of the political and economic systems form two aspects of the same process of social reform, and should proceed simultaneously and develop in a coordinated fashion. Both share the same fate, whether that be success or failure.

Is this understanding of the relationship between political and economic reform contrary to the basic principle of historical materialism that states that economics ultimately determines politics? The answer to this question should be in the negative. First of all, although according to historical materialism, economics plays the final determining role in relation to politics, politics is never regarded as an appendage to economics, and has a dynamic effect on economics. Second, if we face reality we would discover that in a socialist country the system of public ownership and the state play a vital role regarding economics, and that all of economic life is permeated with political elements. The well-known Polish economist, [Bulusi] made a comprehensive, detailed description of this: 1) The first point of departure for economic activity (the target function), is the result of political policy making; 2) Selecting the best program from among those developed via economic calculation is also a form of political policy making; 3) Indirectly determining economic parameters of calculation via the effect that the scope and structure of consumption funds will have on human behavior in economic activity in the process of deciding on that scope and structure is also political policy making. In China, politics has a particularly marked dynamic effect on economics: political elements permeate almost every aspect of life in society, and almost all economic questions are also political questions. Given such a situation, the deciding role of economics towards politics is only manifested in the permeation of political factors into every cell of the social organism. This abnormal phenomenon is, in the final analysis, due to economic underdevelopment. In addition to this, economics and politics are reflected merely as mutually determining each other. Third, the relationship between the

political and economic systems and politics and economics cannot be simply equated. If we say that although the entire economic process in a socialist country is replete with political factors, the decisive role played by economics in relation to politics can still be dimly seen, then the traditional socialist economic and political systems would appear to be fused into a whole. In no sense would there exist the decisive role of the former on the latter, and the relationship between the two would only be one of mutual determination and coordinated, identical existence and change.

It is just this united relationship between the economic and political systems that determines the necessity of the simultaneous advance of the reform of both the economic and political systems. The last 7-odd years of practice in reform in China have shown this to be true.

From the very beginning, economic and political structural reform is characterized by an identity of process--both are initiated together and continue to develop in a coordinated fashion. Deng Xiaoping has said, "The overall economic reform cannot succeed without engaging in overall political reform." In other words, the two aspects of the reform must, and can only proceed at the same time, or else the reform will not succeed. In the past few years, the gigantic successes achieved in China by the overall economic reform have been recognized by the entire world, but if we admit this fact, we must also recognize the equally great successes achieved by our reform of the political system as well. Some comrades believe that the overall economic reform has shown a good deal of development, but that the political reform has not even begun. In their view, the successes of the economic reform over the past 7 years were achieved without the slightest political reform, which is the same as saying that economic reform can make great strides independently of political reform! Perhaps the reason why these comrades have come to such a conclusion is that they have been confused by the following phenomenon: the overall economic reform had been placed on the agenda a long time ago, while it has only been recently that people have been paying attention to the reform of the political system. This is indeed, an objective phenomenon. However, before people had a conscious conception of placing the overall political reform on the agenda, the reform had long since been put on the agenda in objective practice, a fact which cannot be refuted. First came practice in reform, then a specific awareness of it. This process from practice to understanding, as relates to the reform, is one of a development from lack of awareness to awareness.

Worthy of emphasis is that our intention in pointing out and analyzing the boundless permeation of politics throughout economic life in China for some time and the fusing of the political and economic systems into one is to stress that we must consider these facts during the practice of reform, not to advocate the retention and protection of these phenomena. I believe that this widespread permeation of politics and the fusion of the political and economic systems is abnormal. The separation of politics from economics and other aspects of social life and the division of the political and economic systems should be one of the current objectives of the reform. Precisely because of this, any progress obtained in China's reform at least in the near future will be manifested as progress both in the political and economic systems. It can

be predicted that by the time the reform has developed to a definite degree, a normal relationship will be established between politics and economics and the political and economic systems, which will open up even more bright future vistas for the reform. When that time comes, we should change our angle of approach and study the mutual relationship between the political and economic systems proceeding from the interdependence and independence of both systems. This is an immutable law of historical development.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CADRE SYSTEM REFORM AS KEY IN POLITICAL REFORM

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Ye Ning [0673 1380]: "Reform of the Cadre System Is a Breakthrough in the Reform of the Political System"]

[Text] Regarding the question of breakthrough in the reform of the political system, some comrades advocate starting with freedom of speech, while others feel we should begin from the reform of administrative organs. Both views are reasonable to a certain degree, because both problems dealt with are major issues that must be resolved by overall political reform. However, selecting the breakthrough point is similar to how one must lead a cow by the nose to get her to move--I believe we must start from the reform of the current cadre system.

First of all, regarding the relationship between the reform of the cadre system and the political system and other aspects of the reform, the reform of the cadre system requires the removal of the unscientific, undemocratic and imperfect components of that system, the correction of various deviations and defects in cadres' work and the rectification of incompetent personnel from all posts at all levels in the ranks of the cadres, and the selection of comrades who completely meet the standards of the "four modernizations" and who are of fine moral quality to join the ranks of the cadres and fill leadership positions at all levels. Since the founding of the PRC, reform of the administrative system has been carried out on numerous occasions and in 1982 the movement seemed to be gaining momentum. The reason why results have been poor, even ending up with more overlapping organizations and more personnel than needed is most likely related to our cadre system and those cadres with power, and the creation of work to give people something to do, a problem which is far from resolved. Therefore, the reform of the cadre system is a prerequisite for success in the reform of the political system and in other areas, and is the key to whether or not the reform of society as a whole can develop in depth.

Second, regarding the important role of cadres in all this, "After the creation of the political line, the cadre is the decisive factor." No matter how good the line, principles and policies of our party and state are, they all must depend on the cadres for implementation and execution. No matter how good our experiences and typical cases in the practice of reform are, they all rely on

the cadres for review and promotion. No matter how enthusiastic and energetic the masses of the people are, they need the cadres to provide guidance and organization. The condition of the ranks of the cadres determines the future and fate of our country's great undertakings. Recently a survey of test sites of the plant director system of responsibility revealed that the key to smooth functioning and achievement of results lies in the quality of the plant director and the leadership team. Therefore, the creation of a scientific cadre system and the strict adherence to standards in their selection and promotion provide the guarantee to the continuing presence of qualified leadership and to thriving development.

Third, as relates to the current state of cadre ranks, this very much reflects the condition of the cadre system and cadre work. In the past few years, the Central Committee has repeatedly stressed the "four modernizations" the ranks of the cadres and has issued many directives regarding cadre work, and some places and units have boldly conducted reform in the selection of cadres, resulting in some progress in the cadre ranks as a whole. However, considering the needs of the party's undertakings and the construction of the four modernizations and the hopes of the many party members and masses, there is still much that is unsatisfactory about the ranks of the cadres. The current condition of cadre ranks reminds us that the cadre system and cadre work have come to the point where they must be reformed. In his report on the Seventh 5-Year Plan, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that, the problem of the effect on the overall economic reform of the "restrictions of the conditions of the cadres" should elicit the close attention of the entire party and lead to the adoption of firm measures to rapidly change the current unfortunate unsuitability of the ranks of the cadres to the new situation, tasks and demands.

By the cadre system, we usually refer to the cultivation, inspection, selection, employment, management, supervision, reward and punishment, promotion, impeachment, transferral, and retirement systems. These are certain aspects of the cadre system, and interrelated, mutually limiting links in the work of cadres. These aspects are in need of further improving. However, we believe that the reform of cadre selection and supervision is the crux and foundation of the reform of the cadre system.

In the reform of the selection of cadres, we must overcome the current problems of "imperial decrees," traditionalization and mystification, and make the work democratic, scientific and systematic. In this, democratization is the most important. Without it, we cannot overcome these current defects, not to mention promoting scientification and systematization. Nor will we be able to promote professionally and politically sound cadres who meet the standards of the "four modernizations." The reform of the cadre supervision system requires "improving top to bottom and bottom to top supervision" as discussed by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the conference attended by 8,000 persons. For the present time, the creation and perfection of a system of mass supervision is of particular importance. The implementation of mass supervision is an important manifestation and guarantee of the democratization of the cadre system and in enabling the masses of the people to become masters of their fate. It is also the fundamental task in the construction of a highly democratic, civilized,

strong, socialist country. Another aspect of the creation and perfection of a system of supervision is the genuine implementation of a system by which cadres can be demoted as well as promoted. Resolute measures should be taken with the unanimous supervision, inspection and verification from both upper and lower ranks, to demote, dismiss or retire all incompetent cadres and cadres with a lot of problems deserving of such treatment. Appropriate wages should be paid for all posts. Evil should not be tolerated sacrificing the interests of the party and people, because of personal relationships in this regard. The implementation of a strict system of supervision over cadres is the only effective, positive measure to put an end to the lifelong tenure system for leadership cadres.

Recently Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized the necessity of a step-by-step reform of government organs and the cadre system to follow the overall development of the reform of the economic system. However, the problems of how to reform the cadre system, and to what degree directly involve the interests of a great many cadres. Therefore, the reform's fate will largely be determined by whether or not leadership cadres at all levels can have the resolution to be selfless and fearless. This is another proof of the theme of this article.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRACTICE OF MAKING FALSE ACCUSATIONS DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Combat Anonymous False Accusations; Protect Reform Efforts"]

[Text] In the course of reform today, while facing the risks and difficulties in their work, some enthusiastic reformers have to dodge slander and false accusations made behind their backs, suffering attacks front and rear and fighting on two fronts. The report published today in this paper on how Jilin's Dongfeng pharmaceutical plant director Liang Youyi [2733 0645 4135] suffered anonymous false accusations is one instance. Liang Youyi was falsely accused anonymously 5 times in 3 years and lost 3 chances for a merit award. Yet in spite of the false accusations, he refused to become discouraged, but remained energetic and pursued reform. His spirit is most commendable. Today, his problem has finally been clarified. It is the verdict of history and calls for celebration. However, there are still many reformers suffering similar misfortunes, and the evil practice of making anonymous false accusations will not be thus stamped out.

"Six months' punishment for 8 cents.... Lifetime discredit for 16 cents." It is an abnormal and distressing social phenomenon. Reform touches the sore spots of some people. Resentful yet unable to express themselves in the open, they resort to anonymous accusations. There are also those who suffer from jealousy, regarding others' achievements as their own incompetence, and others' success as their own failure. Acting on rumors, they find one flaw today and a problem the next, and will not be satisfied until their targets are ousted. Anonymous accusers stress timeliness, displaying their skills at moments of commendation, naming, promotion, grade evaluation and wage adjustment. The anonymous accuser is also an opportunist. When the higher level urges policy implementation, he accuses you of failing to fulfill policies; when the higher level opposes unhealthy tendencies, he charges you with promoting them; when there is a crackdown on economic crimes, he claims that you have economic problems. In addition, such rumors as "sexual relations" serve as the "ever effective" magic weapon in his hands.

The success of anonymous accusers often hinges on the attitude of leaders. Some leaders immediately become excited upon reading an anonymous letter and lose their confidence in a formerly trusted subordinate. Thus, regardless

of whether the problems are true, they "suspend" the accused first for further consideration. Wary of the outstanding subordinates to start with, others find anonymous accusations good opportunities for them to express themselves. Thus, they make a big fuss and launch "marathon" investigations, until the accused is discredited. "One fears not the 8 cents, but the gullibility of the leader" is a portrayal of reality.

Making anonymous accusations has today become a major scourge of society. Hit by such hidden arrows, some reformers have come under investigation, encountered attack, and "fallen from their horses midway." It makes some reformers tremble with fear, unable to proceed yet reluctant to quit. There is an even more frequent situation: After investigations and transfers lasting 6 months to a year, though an anonymous letter has been proved false, no one comes forth to clear up the matter for the accused or redress the wrong. On the contrary, such arguments as "no smoke without fire" and "one must not disbelieve the accusation, but nor must one believe it in full" thereby placing a burden on the accused, inflicting on him an indescribable pain. A plant director complained indignantly: "I spend much time of my working hours dealing with groundless censures and accusations. It takes the investigation group 3 to 5 months to investigate. When no problem is found at the end, the matter is settled by leaving it unsettled. One cannot ask for the name of the accuser, because his rights have to be protected. However, who is to pay for the time wasted and work delayed? What is the guarantee of the dignity of one's character?"

Pinpointing at the detrimental impact of anonymous accusations in social life, some comrades suggested the policy of "ignoring them." In other words, leaders of various levels should throw anonymous letters into the waste-basket. One should say that it is the last resort in handling the flood of anonymous letters today. Some comrades feel that, while the problems reported in anonymous letters should be investigated according to the circumstances, such letters should not affect the trust in, employment and promotion of a cadre, and the unconfirmed facts in the letters should not be spread far and wide. Undoubtedly, it is a responsible attitude. We feel that handling anonymous accusations is actually a course of "supporting the upright and driving out the evil." Supporting the upright means publishing the true facts obtained in an investigation and rehabilitating the accused. Especially in terms of those comrades who uphold justice and "remain standing in spite of false accusations," we must firmly back them up and publicize their spirit and deeds. It is the purpose of the affirmation and support given to Liang Youyi for his spirit of upholding reform in disregard of false accusations and of his election as a provincial labor model reported in this paper today. Driving out the evil means that, upon investigation, those deliberately making false accusations should be earnestly prosecuted, and serious offenders violating criminal law should be punished according to law, for otherwise we will not be able to curb the evil practice or protect reformers.

Persons making false accusations should take warning! In a major sense, the practice damages the enthusiasm of reformers and endangers the modernization cause; in a minor sense, with society's contempt for the practice and the gradual strengthening of the legal system, those making false accusations will eat their own bitter fruit.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MUSEUM OF 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' PROPOSED

Shanghai XINMIN WANBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 86 p 6

[Article by Ba Jin [1572 6855]: "A 'Cultural Revolution' Museum"]

[Excerpts] I believe that many people who had suffered the utmost of "grinding and tempering with blood and fire" in the "cultural revolution," will most likely not remain silent. Each person has had his own particular experiences, but no one will describe the "cowsheds" as "paradise," or regard the merciless and inhumane murders as "a great proletarian revolution." Although ways of thinking differ, we all have formed one common resolution: Under no circumstances shall there be another "cultural revolution" in China, because a second catastrophe will completely destroy the Chinese nation.

Some say: "To happen again? That should be impossible." My question is: "Why should it not be possible?" In recent years, I have thought a lot about it in the hope of finding a clear and definite answer: is it or is it not possible? Though I am now not afraid of queer dreams at night, but who is to guarantee me that things that happened 20 years ago will not happen again?

It is not that there is no soil, or not the weather, that would make growth of a second "cultural revolution" impossible. Quite the contrary.

Establishing a museum of the "cultural revolution" is not the affair of any particular individual, we all have the responsibility to let our children and grandchildren, generation after generation, remember well the lesson of the 10 cruel and painful years. "Don't let history repeat itself," must not remain merely an empty phrase. We must make everybody see it very clearly, and remember it very distinctly. The best way to do that is to build a "cultural revolution" museum. This should use specific and actual articles, display soul-stirring true scenes, and explain what indeed had occurred on this very soil of China 20 years ago. Let everybody see the whole course of the "cultural revolution," think of what every individual did during those 10 years, tear off the masks, make it a matter of conscience, reveal your own true colors as of those days, pay back all debts of the past, large and small. Only when acting without selfish motives, one will not be cheated or fooled; daring to speak out truthfully, one will not give easy credence to falsehoods.

Only persons who well remember the "cultural revolution" will be able to stop history from repeating itself and bar the return of the "cultural revolution."

Erecting a "cultural revolution" museum is an extremely necessary affair; only those who do not forget the past can master the future.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISCUSSION OF MISINTERPRETED MARXIST VIEWS

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 7 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Liu Peihua [0491 0160 5478] and Liu Shizhou [0491 1102 0587]:  
"Clarifying Some Erroneous Interpretations of Marxism"]

[Excerpts] There is a misunderstanding which holds that Marxism as a 19th Century product is no longer applicable today. Indeed, Marxism came into being in the 19th Century, and it began only as one of the many schools of socialism. However, since its debut it has demonstrated unrivalled power. From the "spectre" that stalked the European Continent it took one leap to become a "giant" popular the world over, so much so that "his foes were forced to pose as Marxists." That is because it scientifically brought to light communism as the inevitable end-result of the development of human society; it showed us the path to this target; it pointed out the power to fulfill this mission. Thus it has become the guide to action for the proletariat. Today, over 100 years after its birth, the times are very much different. Socialism in its realistic context is not quite the same as its creator envisaged, but that does not mean Marxism is outmoded. As an integral scientific system it must enrich and develop itself in practice. Marxism in this sense is especially more important today. Macrocosmically speaking, the issues are: How to build socialism? What is socialism characteristic of? What are its laws? How should we guide its construction? Speaking microcosmically, the issues are: How to practically link the party's guidelines and principles with the concrete work of the locality's region, its departments, its trades and professions, and its units? And how in the linking process to continue studying new situations, solving new problems, thinking out new methods, and making breakthroughs. As a matter of fact, so far as our party is concerned, the results we have thus far achieved since the 3d Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee are the results of holding fast to the Marxist fundamental tenets.

On the other hand, unless we are amply familiar with Marxism, we cannot objectively evaluate such a broad but profound scientific system, nor can we develop it on the premise of grasping it.

There are also people who hold: "After all these changes, every time it is justified no matter how it is changed." That only proves Marxism is something you can dispense with, they reason. But that is another misinterpretation--

the result of seeing the issue on the surface without analysing it in concrete terms. It must be admitted, however, that during the 10 years' internal chaos a lot of correct things became objects of criticism while erroneous theories were crowned with the Marxist laurels. That bewilders people's minds. It seems to them that is the way Marxism is. This practice has played havoc with our party's goodwill and its theoretical and ideological work. But as was just pointed out, the theory of those 10 years never was Marxism, it was even anti-Marxist. Therefore, to face "change" squarely, that which is wrong should be set right. This kind of change is necessary: it does good to both country and people.

Marxism itself is, we must also realize, a science subject to development. Its vitality hinges on constantly revising certain outdated conclusions and making new scientific inferences on the basis of new situations. That, too, is "change," but it is Marxism being developed. Marx and Engels did regard their theories as theories of development. The fact was that on the basis of the developed situation they, too, adjusted and revised, in good time, certain concrete strategic theories regarding proletariat revolution. So far as our party is concerned, we have, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, not only brought the chaos back to order and false back to true, but "changed" individual conclusions to suit our country's situation on the basis of insisting on the basic tenets of Marxism, giving Marxism a forward push. Therefore, we cannot discuss "change" in vague terms. Instead, we must solidly view the situation; we must adhere to the Marxist views on "practice as the sole yardstick of truth."

There are yet some other confused ideas about Marxism: "In carrying out economic construction what we need is special technological knowhow and pragmatism. Marxism is empty theory. Makes no difference whether you learn it or not." That is another distortion of Marxism. In the beginning Marxism was enriched and developed through practice. Hence its close link with practice. Our reform today is the result and manifestation of this very linkage. Both reform and economic construction demand technological expertise, but no technological studies can replace Marxist studies. Why is reform necessary? How to view the problems arising from reform? These are problems that no specialized knowledge can solve, except Marxism. It is true that reform requires practical work. But it takes the guidance of Marxism to find answers to questions such as what to do and how to do it, or we would fall a prey to putschism, lose our way, and fail in the reform.

Some are even prejudiced in some way against Marxism. They hold that "Marxism-guided socialism cannot keep pace with capitalism in its development." So they do not believe it can beat capitalism and doubt its validity. That socialism can prevail over capitalism is the basic theory of Marxism. It is the scientific conclusion drawn from the analysis of the contradictory functioning of capitalist society and the understanding of the law of social development. That capitalism will be prevailed upon by socialism is determined by the contradictions inherent in capitalism itself. Socialization of production objectively demands public ownership of the means of production, and socialism helps realize this objective demand, making it possible to create conditions for production rates higher than those of capitalism. There are, however, subjective and objective reasons why it has yet to bring its superiority into full play. That capitalism still has its vitality also needs

further study. Socialism has a history of 60-odd years. We are still in the process of groping as to how socialism should be practiced, and in actual practice, its starting point was far from high. Besides, during the space of but a few decades there cropped up a few blunders, which checked the full play of its superiority. On the whole, the socialist countries have been growing at a rate which is not at all low since World War II. The fact that the socialist countries' productivity is lower than the capitalist countries' (which is but a temporary phenomenon) should not shake our faith in socialism, nor should we suspect its validity. Following the 3d Plenum of the 11th party Central Committee, we have achieved world-acclaimed successes in the economic, social, cultural and other aspects. Socialist superiority is being brought into full play.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRESENT, PAST OF POLITICAL REFORM ANALYZED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 8 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Li Shengping [2621 4141 1627]: "Pondering China's Political Reform in the Perspective of History"]

[Text] China is undergoing a course of profound changes. The economic reform, with its powerful momentum and careful planning and its theories, goals and operation, is gradually winning the understanding and acceptance by more and more people. However, in terms of the starting point and progress of political reform, many comrades are still vague. Thus, some people find it sudden and incomprehensible, others remain silent, and still others see no basic necessity for it in view of China's superior political system. In terms of the goal, theory and practice of political reform, people's ideological understandings are not unified.

Actually, China's political reform started at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. Transformation of the political system, readjustment of the structure, evolution of the organization, development of theories, changes in culture, progress in concepts, and democratization of political life have been going on for more than 7 years, and tremendous achievements have been made.

1. The Third Plenary Session signified the party's total repudiation of the "Leftist" line of "taking class struggle as the key link," established its correct leadership in the new era, and proposed the guiding principle of building China into a highly civilized and highly democratic modern socialist power. These were the historical changes and developments of China's political leadership and theories.
2. The thorough denunciation of the "Cultural Revolution" was the negation of the incorrect political line and program and of the form of political struggle with a strong feudal flavor.
3. The rehabilitation of people unjustly punished and persecuted in the successive political movements and the Cultural Revolution presaged the democracy and progress of China's political life.

4. The glorious ideological emancipation movement cleared away the atmosphere of personality cult long enveloping the party's and state's political life and broke down the ideological shackles of the "two whatevers."

5. The repudiation of the incorrect principle of "taking class struggle as the key link" indicated the development of political theories. From discussing practice as the criterion to test truth and applying Marxism on the basis of development, to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal, on behalf of the party Central Committee, to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, the outline of the development of political theories was delineated.

6. In the past 7 years, the NPC, the State Council and the legislatures of the various areas created and strengthened several hundred laws, decrees and regulations, introduced the principle of judicial independence and reinstated the lawyer system. The building of the legal system is an important part of political reform and serves as the means of its protection.

7. Direct and special elections of people's deputies at the county level were introduced, electoral methods and procedures reformed, and voters given the right to propose the dismissal of people's deputies. Citizens' roles in politics were expanded, their democratic rights enlarged, and their consciousness in political participation enhanced.

8. The functions and roles of people's congress power organs were gradually enhanced and expanded, its guidance and supervision of the political life of the state given serious attention, all kinds of special committees of a work nature created, the legislative system perfected, the system of the people's congress improved, and China's political system advanced.

9. An unprecedented development was made in China's patriotic united front, and the standing and functions of the CPPCC enhanced and strengthened.

10. The life tenure of the highest party and state leaders was gradually abolished and replaced by the term system. Separation of party and government, in theory and practice, was under discussion and in the course of implementation. The Central Discipline Inspection Commission was created, exercising supervision over party organizations and leaders of all levels, including the central government, thereby improving inner-party leadership and the checking mechanisms.

11. The division of the party's supreme leadership organs into the Central Committee, Central Advisory Commission and Central Discipline Inspection Commission was the result of our party's historical recapitulation and scientific planning, conducive to the scientific layout of its supreme leading organs and the rational distribution of power.

12. The reinstitution of the state chairman produced an important impact on strengthening the state system, clarifying state power, improving the operation of state mechanisms, and eliminating the abuse of substituting the party for the government.

13. The creation of the Central Military Commission perfected the system of the state and that of the military.

14. The administrative system of the state was reformed, the senior officer responsibility system under the constitution introduced, the administrative functions and power of the State Council expanded, the auditing system created and the auditing organ reinstated. The reform of the administrative system of the state constituted the premise of administrative modernization.

15. Administrative mechanisms were simplified, personnel reduced, duplicating organs merged, management levels cut down, departmental responsibilities clarified, efficiency raised, bureaucratism lessened, and contact of the masses with the administration strengthened.

16. The proposal of cadre requirements, namely, more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent, signified the transition of the cadre system from the political party principle to the principle of ability, and the creation of a mechanism for the fair and objective discovery and employment of competent people is underway. The reform of the cadre system guarantees the progress of political reform.

17. The implementation of the policies on nationalities and religion in the new era safeguarded the democratic rights of minorities, gave objective recognition to the position of religion in social life, and readjusted China's social structure and political life.

18. The changes in rural policies greatly expanded the rural social productive force, raised the enthusiasm of the vast number of peasants for production and politics, improved their status in the political life of the state, strengthened the worker-peasant alliance, and reinforced the foundation of the state.

19. The multiparty cooperative political system was developed and improved, and the relations of "devotion to one another and sharing the honor and the disgrace" and "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" established. Within the scope of the constitution and laws, the various democratic parties were granted political freedom and organizational independence, thereby readjusting the political composition of the state.

20. The open-door policy broke down the state of isolation, placed China in the midst of world development, and serves as an important path for its modernization.

21. By its proposal and practice, the "one country, two systems" principle developed the Marxist theory on the issue of the state, and provided a feasible means for the peaceful unification of China and the solution of international disputes.

22. The freedom of creation was advocated and the laws of literature and art respected. Literature and art no longer serve as weapons of political

struggles, nor do writers casually become the sacrifices of certain individuals, thereby charting the course for political reform in the ideological and cultural realms.

23. By its comprehensive exposition and gradual fulfillment, the intellectuals policy has gradually improved the status of intellectuals in the political life of the state. Large groups of fine intellectuals are participating in decision making and leadership and producing a positive impact on the economic and political developments of the state.

24. Local governments were given autonomy in managing the economy, and their administrative powers appropriately expanded, thereby preliminarily solving the relations between centralism and power sharing and making administrative control and power distribution more scientific.

25. The beginning of a liberal and harmonious environment for academic research and the implementation of the double hundred policy serve as signs of political democratization.

26. In a certain sense, economic reform is itself political reform. China's society is undergoing profound economic changes, shifting from a natural economy to a planned commodity economy, and from a unitary planning system to a controlled market system. In the absence of a commensurate political reform, it would have been impossible to imagine or achieve such profound economic changes. The changes in themselves denote a major political reform.

When we review the course of China's political reform since the Third Plenary Session, what are the enlightenments?

1. Reviewing and recapitulating thoroughly from the perspective of history the road traveled by us and fully recognizing and analyzing the achievements will strengthen our confidence in the success of political reform and dispel unnecessary concerns.

2. Following the trail of political reform since the Third Plenary Session we will discover regularities in certain experiences and lessons conducive to a more accurate grasp of the intentions and extensions of political reform and a higher and deeper understanding.

3. Political, economic and cultural reforms are the different waves of China's reform tide. Any theory separating them from the whole or considering political reform subservient to economic reform is inaccurate. Yet we may say that the political reform initiated by the Third Plenary Session was the inception of China's reform tide and has become the continuation of its development today.

4. Instead of hastily proposing immature programs, the urgent task of political reform is, on the rational basis of a profound recapitulation, to turn the central government's broad and long-range determination for political reform into that of the people throughout the country, transform the

contingency nature of political reform into political consciousness, channel the piecemeal and scattered endeavors into a complete set, and progress from practice to history.

5. For the smooth progress of political reform, we must create new concepts, terminologies and patterns of political science, in order to depict and interpret more accurately and scientifically today's complex social phenomena, form research communities, fully activate the enthusiasm of young researchers, and regard political reform as systems engineering under meticulous planning and strict operation. In addition to propelling political reform toward technical, quantitative and procedural developments, operation includes controlling the aspects and phases of reform and maintaining a favorable environment. We must cherish today's political situation and environment, progress steadily, instead of rising in a swarm and proposing slogans irresponsibly, and actively follow the strategic plans of the central government.

Only on the basis of recapitulation will political reform progress from the realm of necessity, the first phase, to the realm of freedom, the second phase, and attain a steadier, broader and deeper growth.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

THEORIST CHEN SHI ON SOCIALISM

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Chen Shi [7115 1395]: "Socialism Reinterpreted"]

[Text] After experiencing the practice of economic reform in the past few years, we have deeply realized that it is impossible for reform to have smooth sailing all the way, that it may encounter resistance from various sides, and that how to surmount them is the key to its success. I feel that the foremost task is to overcome the psychological resistance found in ourselves--the fear that reform will lead to capitalism. Therefore, it is necessary to reinterpret socialism.

We should face up to such a fact: After pursuing socialism for decades, many people are still not very clear about what socialism is and how to build it. Due to historical reasons, China built socialism on the base of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society and skipped the capitalist phase of a fully developed commodity economy. Thus, China's current social formation is quite different from Marx's conception of socialism. To build Chinese-style socialism in the patterns envisioned by Marx in his time is obviously incompatible with present needs. Reality demands that we reinterpret socialism and, in line with China's specific conditions, find a new path to build socialism under the condition of underdeveloped productive forces. That is the goal of all reforms pursued by us today. In the reforms today, due to our inadequate understanding of socialism, plus our unrealistic fear of capitalism, many people turn pale the moment the word "capitalism" is mentioned. As a result, reform remains stalled in the midst of the qualitative evaluation of capitalism, finding it difficult to proceed. It is a major obstacle. Hired labor is an inevitable phenomenon when developing a commodity economy. In recent years, people have been entangled in the question of whether hired labor is socialism or capitalism. The reason for deeming it capitalism is none other than exploitation. In fact, the seizure of political power by the proletariat does not imply the total elimination of exploitation, and certain exploitative phenomena found in a socialist society are not that alarming. To determine whether a society is socialist, the most basic criterion is whether public ownership of production means is its main economic form and whether the exploiting system has been eliminated, and not whether it has generally established public ownership in the whole society and whether all exploiting phenomena have been eradicated. Moreover,

we cannot call it exploitation just because the income of the employer is several times higher than that of the employee. So long as the hired help receive a fair wage, namely, compensation equivalent to the marginal productive force of each worker, it cannot be deemed exploitation.

The reinterpretation of socialism covers mainly two aspects: First, are there commonalities between socialism and capitalism? Next, can socialism learn from capitalism?

According to many comrades, socialism and capitalism are as incompatible as fire and water, conflicting with each other in everything. The criterion for anything is whether it is clearly demarcated from capitalism. We do not want anything found in capitalism, and we must establish whatever is absent in capitalism. On the surface, such oversimplified "differentiation" appears to be safeguarding the "purity" of socialism, but it has actually caused enormous losses to our construction cause. If capitalism promotes a commodity economy, does it mean that socialism must not do so? If capitalism advocates humanitarianism, does it mean that socialism must reject it?.... It is typical metaphysics. After undergoing more than 3 decades of trials and tribulations and paying costly "tuitions," we have today finally realized that the development of a commodity economy is a phase which cannot be skipped in building socialism. Nevertheless, many comrades declared time and again the essential distinctions of a socialist commodity economy from a capitalist commodity economy, resulting in further hesitation in the course of developing commodity economy. It should be pointed out that our socialism is unique, emerging from the womb of a feudal society. This uniqueness determines the presence of many common features between the tasks of China's socialist society and those of the capitalist society. These tasks include the vigorous development of commodity economy and the thorough elimination of the remnant feudal influence. Thus, instead of persisting in a hostile stand, we must strive to expand socialist productive forces, fearlessly study and refer to our commonalities with capitalism, and seek common grounds while reserving differences. The ultimate indicator of the superiority of socialism is the maximum emancipation of productive forces, surpassing capitalism.

For the same reason, we must learn from capitalism--learn its experiences and strong points in managing and organizing a commodity economy and all the advanced qualities in its material and spiritual civilizations. The problem is actually very simple: "The socialist system is not identical with the concrete practice of building socialism." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 214). Utilizing capitalism to develop socialism does not mean following the capitalist path. The purpose is to surpass capitalism in the future and lay the material foundation for its ultimate elimination. From the practical experience of the Soviet Union's brief period of socialist construction at the time, Lenin pointed out clearly: "We should utilize capitalism (guiding it on to the track of state capitalism) as the link between small production and socialism and as the means, path, method and pattern of improving productive forces." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4 p 525). No need for reticence, capitalism has more abundant experiences than us in developing productive forces. Drawing lessons from their experiences, making use of them, and vigorously developing our productive forces will be much more beneficial and effective than groping slowly in the dark.

It is groundless for socialism to fear capitalism, because the former represents a better future than the latter. We can understand the concern of some comrades that reform may lead to capitalism, but there is no need for such concern. Instead of erecting castles in the air apart from capitalism, the giant of socialism should stand on the shoulders of capitalism to build its own palaces. Therefore, we should, in reform, completely overcome our groundless fear of capitalism, look squarely at the reality confronting us and, for the maximum development of productive forces, proceed with reform in the proper manner and on the proper items. There is only one criterion to determine the success or failure of each item of reform and of reform as a whole: whether the development of productive forces is promoted.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

THEORETICAL RESEARCH, POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Xiao Yuhua [5135 3768 5478]: "Seminar Discusses Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] At a political theory seminar in Changchun in mid-August, some young and middle-aged theoretical workers from Jilin University, Beijing University, Zhongshan University, and other institutions said that we must overcome the mentality of seeking security and avoiding risk in order to meet the requirements of political structural reform. That way theoretical research, particularly political theoretical research, can stay ahead of political structural reform.

They noted that as economic structural reform gains depth, political structural reform, which is an even more arduous and complex task, becomes inevitable. It requires that we not only take a positive and cautious attitude but also go out of our way to use theory as a vanguard and scientifically examine in an overall context the direction and principles of reform and the social objectives we want to achieve.

They said that today we must discard a number of old ideas in political theoretical research. Because of the 10 years of turmoil, some comrades still have a lingering fear toward political science research. Others feel that there is not much one can do in political science. These ideas are stumbling blocks to the development of political theory and partly explain the backwardness of political theory in China.

They argued that academic freedom and the notion that no subject should be off limits in academic inquiry should be equally applicable to political science. They suggested that we must carefully and clearly differentiate between academic matters and political matters and not label intellectual inquiry and political science research as "notion of party" and "bourgeois ideology," etc.

They also discussed ways of making progress in political science in the midst of political structural reform. They said that as a basic social science, political science is substantial in content; it consists of a number of branches and covers a wide area. Political science departments and political science curricula were abolished in 1952 during the reorganization of the

departmental system and curricular reform at colleges and universities. It was not until after the "gang of four" was crushed that this discipline was revived and had a chance to develop. Today, about a dozen institutions of higher education have a political science department or offer this field of study. The political structural reform now under way has provided many new topics for political science research. This discipline is bound to expand during reform, which will in turn help the restructuring of the political system.

12581

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6 November 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## SCHOLAR DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, POLITICAL REFORMS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 106, Aug 86 pp 34-37

[Interview with Shao Ding, scholar and strategy analyst, by Chin Chung [6855 6988]; July, in Hong Kong; First paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] Editor's note: Mr Shao Ding [6730 0002] is a visiting scholar in the United States at Princeton University and an overseas representative of China's Economic System Reform Research Institute. His and his colleagues' suggestions on China's strategic development won the serious attention of Premier Zhao Ziyang and had considerable influence on the policies made by the reformists. Mr Shao Ding visited Hong Kong in July. Upon request by this publication, he discussed extensively many profound and macroscopic issues in China's reform which are of most concern to people.

Question: You proposed the policy of giving first primary to market forces supplemented by a planned economy, a further step in the economic reform, to be introduced after the implementation of urban reform. Does it imply changing the basic policy of the Third Plenary Session?

Answer: I feel that the distinction between primary and supplement is not rigid. Rather than giving primary to market forces, I suggested building an economic system with the market as the base. It is consistent with the policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. What is meant by the market as the base? It means that, in terms of all products, including labor and capital, the determination of their values and their courses of exchange must undergo the test of the market.

Question: Is this the concept of "market socialism?"

Answer: In terms of substance, I feel that we should leave ideology out. I am only discussing the motions of the economy, the functions of the various aspects and their interrelations, as well as the flow of capital, the flow of labor, the flow of goods and materials, and how they move through channels of all kinds. As for ideology, it is a purely theoretical issue which may be left to others.

## On Ideology

Question: Is the characteristic of Deng Xiaoping's reform "deeds only, not words," or "do more and say less," thereby sidestepping ideological issues?

Answer: Our time is limited, and we must reform China's system in a short period. We can only do the most effective and beneficial work and are unwilling to discuss such issues as "whether Adam had a navel" like in the Middle Ages.

Question: Did the Ma Ding [7456 0002] incident which occurred recently bring up ideological issues in economics?

Answer: If there are people who do such work, it is alright for them to argue back and forth, winning and losing. However, as policy consultants, we will not take part in it. When it comes to issues regarded as basic in nature, we will not be involved. We have only one goal--a strong country, a wealthy people and an open society.

Question: But if you do not establish your own theoretical system, you will face some challenges.

Answer: This problem has to be solved, but not now. The "doctrines" in the past produced great harm. To waste energy on such problems will land us in a pitfall. Things which confused and poisoned people's minds in the past are not socialism. I was jailed for bringing up this point.

Question: Was it essential for Deng Xiaoping to include the "four perseverances" in the constitutions of the state and the party?

Answer: Anything compatible with the four modernizations conforms to the four perseverances. The most important of the four perseverances is reform, modernization and liberalization. Aside from them, anything is sham.

Question: Is what you say somewhat farfetched?

Answer: Not at all. Some people in America also asked me why we always attach a label, such as "four perseverances," "socialism," and so forth. I told them that there is a great subtlety. Mao Zedong revealed the secret with one remark. He said: Lenin and Stalin are two knives, and the Soviet Union has lost one of them, leaving itself only one. Since it is a knife, why put it in the hands of the opponent? We put it away, and you cannot hit us. It is the best way today. I have a simple logic: Socialism is bound to be good, and what is good is bound to be socialism; what I do is good, and what is good is bound to be socialism. Many people abroad must clear up this problem, but it is very difficult. It was a mess in the past.

Question: In that case, are you mainly relying on the power leverage to promote reform today?

Answer: As reform proceeds from the higher levels to the lower levels, naturally it has to rely on power. Lenin also relied on power in tax reform. Our reform has three major characteristics: 1) proceeding from the higher levels to the lower levels; 2) planning and steps; 3) compensation, not deprivation. Those suffering a loss in reform are more or less compensated.

#### On Succession

Question: You use the echelon succession method for the continuation of power to promote reform. Do you have confidence in it after Deng Xiaoping?

Answer: Echelon succession serves only as an interim measure before the modern civil service system is formed in China. It is after all better than life tenure and seniority. Political democratization is still extremely remote. Only after economic reform has succeeded to a considerable extent will there be hope for democracy. Therefore, I believe that the strategy of China's highest leaders is to promote steadily and effectively China's current economic system and, instead of relying on one person, form an irreversible situation. Once many things have been firmly put in place, it will be very difficult to dismantle them or to justify such action. There have been many subtle changes today. The system relied on by the gang of four to persecute people no longer works. In another 3 or 5 years, economics will also reach a turning point.

Question: Once something has become a fait accompli, there is no way to turn the clock back.

Answer: Time is on our side. The longer the interval, the more favorable it is to us. The young and middle-aged emerging in the reform arena, those in their thirties and early forties, are the most active in China's reform. They will become in a few years' time the backbone elements in the various strata of China's society. The phenomenon of "two ends positive, the middle negative" will change.

Question: Are you overlooking people in their fifties and sixties? They are fairly important figures in China's power structure today.

Answer: I dare not analyze specific individuals, but there is no doubt that they want to build China and hope for its modernization.

Question: Deng Xiaoping said in 1980 that he would retire in 1985, but recently it has been reported that he will continue for a few years. Does it indicate that the personal factor repudiated by you a while ago will not be eliminated?

Answer: It is good if Deng Xiaoping has the energy and ability to continue to hold the helm. The problem now is very complex. I hesitate to touch on personal issues and can only discuss phenomena. By comparison, those in their fifties and sixties appear to be conservative. In an article, I divided China into five generations. The disillusionment with ideals in the second generation is very severe, and I am very sympathetic.

Question: Is that the group of the 1950's?

Answer: Yes. What they believe in is basically unattainable. We have a better path today.

Question: Analysts abroad pay serious attention to the split in reform. If this point is totally denied, where does the resistance to reform come from?

Answer: I feel that there is no obvious split into reformist and conservative factions in China. Resistance to reform comes from two major aspects: economic and non-economic. At present we still do not have a set of fairly effective measures to promote reform, thereby the situation of two steps forward and one backward, and taking two steps and watching the third.

If a certain individual is said to be rather conservative and pro-Soviet, as long as I have something good and approach him with it, I believe he will accept it.

The non-economic resistance is stronger. Because the old system is favorable to some and unfavorable to others, inevitably all kinds of the unexpected occur, and it is hard to attribute them to the conflict between reformists and conservatives.

Question: A nation has to pay a price for a major reform. Will China have yet to pay a price?

Answer: Our reform has grown from a solid irrigated with blood for 100 years, and much has been paid. Twenty million people died in the periods of difficulties. But the reform this time is not irrigation without harvest--we are harvesting now. As a person struggling for more than 2 decades for China's reform, I have not even dreamed of many things occurring today. We will naturally continue to pay the price. The foreign exchange issue last year was part of the price.

Question: Hopefully it will not be the price of the 1898 Reform Movement.

Answer: History is hard to predict. Of course, ours is different from the Reform Movement. First of all, we are pursuing reform backed by power. Secondly, our reform is not targeted at a corrupt system; we are in a period of resurgence.

Question: Is there a model of reference for China's reform, such as Yugoslavia or Hungary?

Answer: One major characteristic of reform is the absence at all times and in all countries of experience which can serve as direct reference. Some people suggested Hungary and Yugoslavia; others Japan. Today some people advocate the emulation of South Korea and Taiwan. I also agree.

However, the connotations of China's reform are extremely profound, and it absolutely is not as simple as transforming the Stalin model into a new one

based on market forces. Casting off the burden of tradition is a drastic change in several thousand years of the nation. Thus, we can imagine the formidability confronting us.

Question: What is the greatest difficulty in urban reform?

Answer: Naturally we run into many problems. When we want to reform any one aspect, it is bound to affect the whole. In terms of the labor market, for instance, we must consider many problems: dismissal of employees, security during unemployment, labor insurance, supervising personnel, and so forth.

On the Soviet Model

Question: You just mentioned the Stalin model. Do you feel that the Soviet economy has totally failed?

Answer: This question is somewhat complex. If a planned economy is a total failure, the question will be much simpler. In terms of pure theory, planned economy is best if we can promptly collect all the social and productive and demand parameters. But I believe that all the computers in the world put together cannot handle them. Moreover, China's framework of the fifties and sixties looked somewhat like a planned economy, but actually it was basically not; to a large extent, it was not a planned economy. It became localism at the lower level. Planned economy has its superiorities; it aims at transcending the irrationality of resource distribution resulting from the purposelessness of market forces. In the past we did not recognize all the strong points of planned economies, nor did we handle the economy correctly. With its many flaws, it was neither fish nor fowl. Rather than a simple Stalin model, China's system consisted of three components: 1) copy of the Stalin model; 2) China's traditional bureaucratic system; 3) China's unique characteristic of the peasant revolutionary war. The Soviet planned economy is not bad. Though it sacrificed butter, the country has become powerful. It is indeed amazing, a fact which cannot be denied.

Question: According to mainland reports and dispatches on the Soviet Union, though below the West, its people's standard of living is not low.

Answer: Their housing is extremely good. According to many returning visitors, the Soviets devoutly believe in their current system. The Soviet practice is fairly compatible with its national conditions. Russia is an Eastern Orthodox country, but it will be disastrous if transplanted to China. I am only talking about "the market as the base," not a complete market economy. China has only one alternative, and it is what is referred to by Deng Xiaoping as "Chinese-style socialism."

Question: In that case, will there also be problems if China copies the West?

Answer: Yes. When I gave a speech in Harvard University, many Americans said: You have so many people studying social sciences in America, but you must be careful; transplanting them would be disastrous. We go to America for the following purposes: 1) broadening our horizon; 2) learning new ways of

thinking; 3) learning scientific methods of a technical nature. We can only make corrections and learn simultaneously. "Feeling the rocks to cross the river;" Chen Yun's remark is correct.

Question: To what extent can China tolerate the inevitable disparity between poverty and wealth which is bound to emerge in an open economy?

Answer: "Let a part of the people get rich first" advocated by us implies fairly large disparities between poverty and wealth. As for the extent, theoretically speaking, it can be unlimited, but it is limited in practice, namely, the restriction of secondary distribution, such as taxes. As long as you violate no law and pay tax, you can develop all you want.

Question: Will the wide gap between the rich and the poor engender social problems?

Answer: Though there is no top limit, attention must be given to guarantee of the minimum. What happens in case of unemployment and inflation? We must draw a poverty line and provide relief for those below the line. In addition, we must guide the rich to reinvest their money.

Question: Today some rich people are reluctant to put their money in banks....

Answer: I know. It reflects the issue of faith. The communist wind of "large in size and collective in nature" in the past was too devastating.

#### On Political Reform

Question: In your view, has the need for political reform emerged in today's economic reform?

Answer: What is needed now is "order." Reform relies on order to proceed. Order is aimed at violators, but also serves as a guide to those who do not quite understand reform. We have not alternative. Some people loudly clamor for democracy and demand general elections. It will only push China into an abyss. After tasting all the adversities, if we are taken in yet another time, we will have sinned against the nation. Democracy can only be expanded gradually, and it can only be enjoyed by the qualified. It has always been so.

Question: But the trend of China's ideological community and the thinking of people in general seem to differ from what you have just said.

Answer: My proposal to introduce political reform in the fifth phase is of a rather high standard. As for a true general election system, namely, a representative system, and even a multiparty or multifaction system, it can only be in the distant future. It is determined by the degree of economic development and the responsibility emerging in society. Democracy is primarily responsibility, not equality.

Question: Should the start be a little sooner?

Answer: My views were discussed long ago in an article. Democracy has three phases and parallels the reform of the system. Today we can only implement the first phase, namely, democracy of the competent: Let the competent people with ability and the sense of responsibility in performing social functions enjoy democracy, and expand the channels of political participation. The brain trusts, including many young people, active in all strata today, for instance, offer advice, make suggestions and express views in various forms to influence decision making at various levels. They are the key force today. There can be no democratic election of managers in plants and corporations. They must be appointed by quarters responsible for the plants and representing their interests.

Question: What about Yugoslavia's worker autonomy?

Answer: Yugoslavia was a major failure in reform, and we must not look to them. Many Yugoslavian visitors here told me in private that they have failed and basically have not accomplished much. Plants in the future should have two committees, an experts committee and a workers committee. In regard to the operation of the plant as a whole, workers have no right to speak, but naturally it is not absolute. The workers committee is in charge of matters concerning distribution and protects workers' interests and welfare, but it must not be excessive.

Question: In that case, what is the status of democratic election?

Answer: I discussed the matter with Hu Ping [5170 1627] who campaigned for election in Beijing University. I said: What you do is more harm than help. The central government has its strategy. When it comes to freedom of speech, and so forth, it is not that simple. I was much more radical than you in my younger days, but now I am more conservative than people in general. Why? Because I learned a bitter lesson. Today I only ponder how to make the reform effective. Deng Liqun once asked me about Hu Ping and Wang Juntao [3769 6511 3447]. I said that one can rest assured that they are not against socialism. They hope that the country will grow strong, but they also have their immature side. During the election campaigns in Haidian district and Beijing University, they actually propose slogans like in presidential campaigns.

Question: In elections for district representatives in Hong Kong, only political programs concerning the district are proposed.

Answer: Beijing University is the birthplace of China's democracy, but an odd phenomenon also occurred: When a woman student campaigned for election, large-letter posters appeared and personal attacks were launched, first snatching the microphone, then fistfights, then knives and guns. A Western historian said: When a peasant country is given democracy, it will use it to destroy freedom. We learned a bitter lesson in the Cultural Revolution. The strongest characteristic of Western democracy is its linkage with responsibility.

Question: What is your concept of the second and third phases of China's democracy?

Answer: The second phase is the democracy of social forces. With the civil service system, there must emerge some pressure groups and interest groups. We must introduce legal and organized politics, but not necessarily party politics. The third phase is democracy with the individual as the unit. Once this phase is reached, we will not be far from a fine society.

Question: Well, thank you.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY, GOVERNMENT DIVISION OF LABOR DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 15 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Ye Sheng [0673 3932]: "Division of Labor Between Party and Government Requires Above All a Change of Concepts"; excerpted from an article by Sun Bin [1327 2430] previously published in XINGZHENG YU RENSHI]

[Text] In an article in the XINGZHENG YU RENSHI [ADMINISTRATION AND PERSONNEL AFFAIRS] magazine, Sun Bin writes: Since quite some time and for various reasons, certain socialist countries have gradually developed in the course of their existence leadership systems of highly centralized state power, where there is, to a serious extent, no separation between party and government and where the party assumes the functions of state government. This phenomenon is a serious obstacle to the realization of a system of socialist democracy.

Sun Bin believes that the achievement of a division of labor between party and government requires above all a change of concepts, mainly in the following respects:

1. There has to be a break with the traditional concept which confused being the core in the leadership of the socialist undertaking with a state of having the party secretary take charge of everything and involving himself in everything. It is necessary to make it clear that the leadership of the party consists mainly in leading and keeping in line all political thinking, the most basic essence of this leadership being the organization and support of consciousness among the people of being masters of their own affairs.

2. There has to be a break with the staid concept of placing strengthening the leadership of the party on the one hand and ensuring the independent exercise of their official functions by the organs of state power on the other hand into an antagonistic contrast. It is necessary to make it clear that there is a unison of party leadership and the exercise of official functions by the organs of state power; these two do not exclude one another.

3. There has to be a break with the muddled idea which gives to understand that the unified leadership of the party means that the party is placed above all organizations. It must be made clear that the party, in the same way as the government and other social organizations, must observe the constitution and the laws adopted by the People's Congress; the party organizations at all levels and all party cadres can only act within the scope of the constitution and the laws.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGAL PROTECTION OF 'DOUBLE HUNDRED' POLICY URGED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 31 Jul 86 p 2

[Article: "Create a Liberal and Harmonious Environment; Promote Reform of Economic and Political Systems: Summary of Forum Held by the Editorial Department of This Publication on the 'Double Hundred' Policy and Legal Protection"]

[Excerpt] At the forum on the "double hundred" policy and its legal protection held by this publication in the middle of July, the 20-odd experts and scholars from Beijing's jurisprudence, political science, literature and art, and media communities expressed numerous excellent opinions on implementing the "double hundred" policy. They are summarized as follows:

1. The essence of the "double hundred" policy is to implement the constitutional provision on the freedom of speech and publication.

First proposed as a principle on the development of art and science, "let one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend" is a figurative formulation. As pointed out by Comrade Lu Dingyi [7120 1353 0001] in 1956, the purpose of the policy is to "encourage the freedoms of independent thinking, debate, creation and criticism, expression, and adherence to and reservation of one's own views in literature and art and in scientific research."

Reviewed some 30 years later, these words touched the hearts of participants at the forum. They declared: The essence of the "double hundred" policy is the implementation of the sacred constitutional provisions on "the freedoms of scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities" and "the freedoms of speech, publication...." Not a purely personal right, the freedom of speech and publication belongs to the people. It was won by the people, under the leadership of the party, by their own struggle, and its enjoyment by scientific and cultural workers and other citizens is perfectly just and natural. Nevertheless, due to the "Leftist" ideological influence in the past, the people's democratic rights were wantonly trampled, and scientific and cultural workers were unable to enjoy fully the freedoms of creation and discussion. Merely because of opinions different from the so-called orthodox views, many people were labeled and bludgeoned. The scholars and experts at the forum felt that it is difficult

to make a clear demarcation between political and academic issues, especially in case of political science, jurisprudence and sociology among the social sciences, as they themselves deal with political issues or issues of a strong political nature. If a clear demarcation between academic and political issues is made the premise of the "double hundred" policy, it will make it impossible to implement it. Participants at the forum said with deep feelings: We cannot regard the "double hundred" policy merely as a policy dealing with cultural and academic issues. Its essence is to implement the constitutional provision on the freedom of speech and publication. It has a universal significance and should be embodied in political life and other realms of social life as well as academic and creative activities pertinent to science and culture. Therefore, to fulfill the "double hundred" policy, we must first fulfill the constitution.

2. The implementation of the "double hundred" policy needs specific legal protection.

The "double hundred" policy is concrete as well as basic. Participants at the forum felt that just constitutional provisions alone are far from adequate for its implementation, as it is impossible for the constitution to make specific and detailed provisions on the rights and freedoms of citizens to pursue scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other activities. In the absence of specific legal protection, there may be those who will wield their power to distort the "double hundred" principle by means of various pretexts and "grounds," wantonly prefer charges, impose restrictions and strangle democratic rights. Take the freedom of speech and publication: Though it is stipulated and affirmed by the constitution, if it remains merely a principle, an ideology, then it is not yet a stable freedom in form of law. If a universal, public and fixed law applicable to everyone is formulated, clearly designating the limits of legal protection bestowed on the "double hundred" policy, it will not only furnish people with the guidelines in exercising the freedom, but also prevent its abuse by some people and wanton interference and willful destruction by others. In other words, those abusing the freedom and those infringing on its rightful enjoyment will be punished by law. It is specific legal protection.

Participants at the forum further declared that just the formulation of an appropriate law alone is still inadequate. Only its correct enforcement will manifest its power to regulate conduct and protect the people's democratic rights. Thus, we must attain the stage where all laws are observed and enforcement is strict, and truly hand the laws to the people.

3. The "double hundred" policy must also be implemented in the field of legal research.

Consideration of legal protection of the "double hundred" policy will naturally involve issues of reform and contentions among the different schools of thought found in the realm of jurisprudence. Participants at the forum felt that China's legal studies are still relatively backward. In times of reform, practice has brought out numerous new problems in jurisprudence, and existing legal theories are apparently not well suited to the rapidly

changing situation. To replace them, we need boldness in breaking through the restrictions of the old framework. Some people remarked that there are three fears in doing research: fear of being accused of "negating Marxism-Leninism," fear of being charged with the "three evils," and fear of "criticism after liberalizing." In view of the bitter lessons of history, jurists feel that legal research must also come under the "three permissions" and "two protections," namely, under the premise of the four basic principles, the permission to contend among the different schools of thought, to doubt and to make mistakes; protection of the minority and protection of people (not mistakes) making mistakes in discussions. Meanwhile, the "four basic principles" must not be arbitrarily interpreted, nor must mistakes be raised to the high plane of principles and lines. Without such safeguards, "100 schools of thought contending" cannot be achieved. In the current liberal and harmonious environment, we should extricate ourselves from our own psychological bondage, free our hands and feet, and justly and forcefully express ourselves on pertinent issues. Participants at the forum declared that, if jurisprudence itself fails to launch contentions among the different schools of thought and legal research itself fails to develop and solve the problems posed by reality, it will be difficult to protect the fulfillment of the "double hundred" policy by legal means.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIBERALIZATION OF PRESS DISCUSSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Ma Rulong [7456 1172 7893]: "Start with the Press in Creating a Liberal Environment"]

[Text] The word liberalization is heard all over this great land of China. From social sciences to literature and art, from ideological-political work to human relations, the clamor for liberalization is raised. It is a sign of the reawakening and resurgence of this our ancient nation. Nevertheless, as the formation of a liberal environment is a composite result, where should it start? This writer feels that it should start with the press. In other words, our press should take the lead in creating a liberal environment.

The experiences of history deserve attention. Since the founding of the nation, from the "Biography of Wu Xun" to the "Dismissal of Hai Rui," from the "Population Theory" to "Sanjia Village," criticism followed on the heels of criticism (though at times under the banner of academic discussion, especially at the early stage of every critical campaign) and the atmosphere grew ever more tense. Recalling the cases one by one, one can only say that they were the tragedies of our nation. Naturally, the fermentation of the tragedies had its complex and profound social roots, but one undeniable fact was that it was always the press which initiated the tension. It proves the important role of the press on whether a liberal environment can be created. Today, basic changes have occurred in the conditions of our country. Nevertheless, it takes more than 1 day for the river to freeze 3 feet deep, and it also takes more than 1 day for the 3-foot ice to melt. Nerves long stretched tight like a bowstring cannot be relaxed by one order from above. We should admit that most people are still birds startled by the arrow, and the least rustle of leaves in the wind alarms them and makes them wonder whether it means "yet again." Thus, our press must be doubly cautious, playing an exemplary role as well as appealing for liberalization. Just like the political situation of stability and unity, a liberal and harmonious public opinion environment is likewise hard to attain and should be cherished, protected and developed.

Starting with the press does not mean merely proposing some slogans on liberalization and harmony and publishing some articles in their appeal, but what is even more important is for the press to serve as a model. It involves work in at least two aspects.

First of all, "uniformity of public opinion" must be discarded. In a broad sense, our newspapers and periodicals are all party publications and party mouthpieces. But at the same time, they are also the people's publications and the people's mouthpieces. Social life is complex, and its sounds should also be manifold. Thus, articles in the press should not all follow the same tune. Not all the articles and views found in the press represent the party Central Committee, nor even the editorials. There should be no "uniformity of public opinion." As long as a writer abides by the constitution and laws and observes the four basic principles, speaks in a rational and convincing way, and expresses his own original thinking, it is perfectly permissible for him to take sole responsibility for his views. Different articles in the same paper may express conflicting views. The practice of "unifying public opinion" by the issuance of one order, echoed simultaneously by 10,000 papers, and regarding the press as a battlefield should be stopped. The press should serve as the garden for 100 flowers to bloom and 100 schools of thought to contend. The sounds of the "100 schools of thought" conduce to the formation of a liberal environment, and are themselves its embodiment. In terms of readers, the concept that "words in the paper are the words of the party and the only correct ones" must be changed. Changing the concept will also conduce to the formation of a liberal environment. It is a part of the proper meaning of the topic.

Next, criticism must be correctly launched. The press is the arena for debates and should also serve as the site of criticism. But criticisms must be reasonable and aim at helping those criticized. They include holding discussions, developing the useful and discarding the useless, selecting the essence and casting off the dross, affirming the good points and pointing out the shortcomings. Everyone should be equal in front of criticisms. We must discard "sticks" and "labels," guard against "general accounting" and "tagging," and oppose "background checking." You have the right to criticize, and I have the right to counter-criticize.

Criticism published in the press, including those naming names, must no longer serve as signals to oust certain individuals or launch movements. Unfortunately, people to date, especially some foreign friends, are still unaccustomed to this point. There are always those who attempt to "read" between the lines for "new moves." It thereby reminds us from another angle the importance of correct criticisms in the press on the formation of a liberal and harmonious environment.

Perhaps it is the writer's groundless fear. Last August a paper published two articles derogating Lu Xun, in an attitude which can be deemed abominable. Their refutation was imperative. However, some of the refutations called the authors "flies" and accused them of "encircling and suppressing" Lu Xun. More insults than reasoning, "the smell of gunpowder" seemed too strong. The two sides of the argument were not liberal enough, and it is difficult to regard it as correctly launching criticisms. It also reminds the writer of some critical articles in the press: At every turn the party concerned is accused of "deviating from Marxism" or even "resisting Marxism." All these are bound to cause mental strain to those who have just come through an atmosphere of tension.

Creating a liberal and harmonious environment is the privilege as well as the obligation of the press. Responsibility and right are unified. There is no obligation without right, nor right without obligation. This is basic knowledge, and the issue at hand is no exception. Thus, it demands that the pertinent departments especially leading organs, grant such rights to the press.

Lenin made a famous dictum: "Newspapers are not only the propagandists and agitators of the collective, but also its organizers." In forming, strengthening and developing a liberal and harmonious environment, can the press play the roles of propagandists, agitators and organizers of the collective? I think the answer should be completely in the affirmative.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, THOUGHT ADVOCATED

Beijing XINGUANCHА [NEW OBSERVATIONS] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 86 pp 2-3

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "Legislation Needed to Safeguard People's Freedoms"]

[Text] China's history since the founding of the People's Republic and events in recent years all make it clear to us that there can be no socialism without democracy, no economic modernization without political democratization. The restructuring of the political system must go hand in hand with restructuring of the economic system, perhaps even stay one step ahead. It holds the key to the success or otherwise of reform as a whole. The primary goal of the restructuring of the political system should be further political democratization. And the starting point for political democratization should be the achievement of genuine "freedom of speech" and "freedom of publication," solemnly enshrined in the constitution. This is because the essence of democracy is putting the people in charge and letting them be the master of the state and society. The constitution provides that all state power belongs to the people. All state power here refers to, more than anything else, freedom of speech. Certainly, democracy consists of more than "allowing the people to speak." (Some emperors in the feudal society of ancient times also realized the need to "listen to advice" and the truth in the saying: "it is enlightening to hear all sides, otherwise you will be uninformed." But we can only describe them as "principled, enlightened" rulers. We cannot say they practiced democracy in any way.) But it is at least a minimum condition for democracy. If even this condition is not met, then all the talk about political democracy, about building a highly democratic socialist nation, will be just empty talk.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said, "To safeguard people's democracy, the rule of law must be strengthened." Freedoms of speech and of publication have now been written into the constitution, but as a basic law of the land, the constitution can only lay down broad principles. To ensure its implementation, we must formulate a series of detailed laws. Based on our experience and learning from other nations' relevant statutes, it is imperative, in fact, a top priority, that we draw up a press law and a publication law as soon as possible. During his visit to Britain not long ago, Comrade Hu Yaobang quoted a famous saying by Montesquieu, "Freedom is being able to do everything that the law allows." Our press law and

publication law must explicitly provide for the principle that "the author is solely responsible for his views." As long as they are within the law, all opinions have the legal right to be published without any interference. As far as newspapers, radio stations, TV stations, and publishing houses are concerned, it is up to the editor-in-chief or editorial committee to decide whether to publish or not a particular opinion or a particular piece of work. No organization or individual has the power to interfere in their decision-making. Any interference will be construed as breaking the law, as encroaching on people's freedom. If we do not write these things into law and content ourselves with mere declarations by party and government leaders about relaxation, about encouraging free expression, about the toleration of dissenting opinions...then freedom will lack tangible protection, because if they relax, they can also tighten, if experience is any guide; what is given can also be taken away. As Deng Xiaoping said, "We must institutionalize democracy and write it into law so that it will not change as leadership changes, as the opinions and focus of attention of leaders change."

It should be pointed out that the rise of Marx, the teacher of revolution, as a thinker and revolutionary had its origins in exactly the struggle for freedom of the press, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech. Marx said, "Without press freedom, all other freedoms become illusions. One form of freedom constrains other forms, in the same way that one part of our body conditions other parts. If any one form of freedom goes wrong, so will freedom as a whole." ("The Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Chapter 1, pp 94-95.) In a letter to A. Beibeier in 1891 protesting the imposition of strict censorship on the publications of the German Social Democratic Party, Marx said, "Since you adopt an anti-socialist law in the self defence contingent, then what is the difference you and [Putekamo] (interior minister of Prussia)?"...You--your party--need socialist science. Yet this science cannot exist without the freedom to develop." ("The Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Chapter 38, p 38.)

Let the restructuring of China's political system begin positively--with the realization of genuine freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of creation, and with the granting of legal protection to these rights of the people. This is the only way to go if China is to become a democratic, modern, socialist nation under the rule of law.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, ALLOWING MASSES TO TALK EXAMINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Wang Jianping [3769 1696 1627]: "Allow the Masses To Talk, Is That Democracy?"]

[Text] At the end of one of its articles, a certain newspaper emphatically stated: "Allow the masses to talk, that is democracy." At first glance, this seems to make sense, but on thinking it over more carefully, one cannot help questioning the statement:

"Allow the masses to talk" seems to leave out a subject, but by implication the subject seems self-evident and may for the time being be designated as X. The way the word "allow" is used here gives it the meaning of "giving permission to." The writer of the said short article has certainly not paid excessive attention to his wording, but let us earnestly reflect on the following question: As China is a socialist country with a people's democratic dictatorship, the masses are the masters of the country. If they want to talk and express opinions, this is their sacred right, so why should they be only able to exercise their right after obtaining permission from X? Does this not signify that this democratic right, which the masses are entitled to enjoy, still depends on a favor to be granted by X?

The democracy that we speak of today refers to the right of the masses to administer the country and to freely express their opinions. There is a big difference between being free to express opinions and being allowed to express opinions. China has after all had a history of over 2,000 years of feudal rule, and in the olden days the two characters "min zhu" meant exactly the opposite of what they mean today. They are explained in the "Ci Yuan" dictionary as "lord over the people," which refers to emperors, kings, and officials. In those days the "min zhu" would hardly allow common people to participate in the affairs of the state. It was the "min zhu" who was master in lieu of the people, and only what the "min zhu" said would count. If the common people would have wanted to express an opinion, action would still depend on the mood of the "min zhu," and action could only be carried out if the "min zhu" allowed it. This kind of "min zhu" is actually a "king over the people."

Would it not appear from the above that this expression "allow (give permission to) the masses to talk, that is 'min zhu' shows the birthmark of a feudalism that has long ago faded away? Even today's mention of "allowing the masses to speak" seems to indicate that there still exist in certain places some "min zhu" of today who do not allow the masses to speak out.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the PRC determines that China's state system is that of a people's democratic dictatorship. Article 2 prescribes, furthermore, that all powers of the PRC belong to the people. It is, therefore, my belief that within the sphere permitted by the constitution the masses in various ways and forms participate in, administer, and supervise the affairs of the state and may express all kinds of opinions, suggestions, and criticisms, and that these are sacred rights which ought to receive legal protection and be respected by those at the helm of the state. There is here no need to obtain permission from that X, to be allowed to exercise these rights.

The expression "allow the masses to talk, that is democracy" may perhaps have been formulated to some extent under the influence of a saying of the past, namely that "democracy is the theory of tricks." In the last 7 or 8 years, there has been a growing atmosphere of political democracy; this is an iron fact. However, in many "forgotten corners" feudalism and ignorance are still hampering the development of socialist democracy; there, the shadow of that ancient type of "min zhu" is still being venerated. The CPC is soberly looking reality in the face. The 12th CPC National Congress made the establishment of a high degree of democracy a major component of the overall tasks in the new era. Today, democracy is not a trick; realization of a high degree of democracy is our great objective. Therefore, the assumption that the masses are allowed to speak out only after obtaining permission is contrary to the spirit of the overall tasks of the party.

Socialist democracy must be extremely widespread; the people are the masters of the country, and if the people are to be masters of their own affairs, the field that is implied and that is manifested in this fact is extremely wide. How the masses will effectively, and not only as a formality, in certain ways participate in, administer and supervise the affairs of the state is an issue that is still to be continuously perfected in the course of the reform of the political system.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY CRITICIZES INDIVIDUALISM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 86 p 4

[Commentary by Loi Chaorong [6351 2600 2817] in column "Ideology Commentary": "Who Says 'Everyone Is an Individualist'"]

[Text] Just as we are correcting the new unhealthy tendencies through education in ideals, purpose, and discipline, some people are propagating what they say "Everyone is individualistic; it's impossible to serve the people wholeheartedly." It sounds so deluded that we should lose no time in clarifying the truth.

By "individualism" is meant the ideology oriented to one's own interest to the exclusion of the interest of others or of society. It finds expression in hurting others for one's gain, scheming after nothing but gain, and each trying to cheat the other. Individualism is the reflection of the private ownership economy on the conscious mind; it is the kernel of the bourgeois world outlook; it is also a characteristic of the world outlook of the small producer. Hence its social and class attributes. And those who claim "everyone is individualistic" regard individualism as something reflected in a person's intuitional and physiological needs as part of his subjective thought and behavior, thus denying its class and social nature. This view grossly misrepresents human nature in its origin.

In his "On Feurbach's Outline" (or "Notes on Feurbach"?) Karl Marx already had this to point out: "The inherent nature of humanity is not a single individual's inherent abstract entity. In its actuality it is the sum total of all social relations." In other words, human beings are not natural beings: they are social beings, their thoughts and behavior being influenced and conditioned by certain social relationships, the most basic of which is that of production. So the very nature of the production relations exerts the most basic influenced and conditioning on human thinking and behavior. In a private ownership society the production relations are founded on private ownership of the means of production, and one of the most basic economic activities of the individual is carried out to meet his or her own needs. To satisfy and protect its private interests, the ruling class invariably makes every effort to preach that the individual's gain is the sole motive and result of his or her behavior, and that it is the norm for measuring and assessing morality, and right and wrong. Thus individualism permeates into every realm of social life, poisoning everyone's soul and becoming a common social

phenomenon. While capitalist society is a highly developed product of a private ownership economy, individualism therefore finds more outstanding expression in it. In our socialist society today, as production relations are based on public ownership of the means of production, so the individual's interests are closely linked to society's interests. The individual's interests being contained in the whole community's interests, the individual must do something for his community before he can get his material needs. Therefore, a collectivism characteristic of disinterestedness and an exclusive orientation to societal interest bent on serving the people wholeheartedly becomes the ethical norm commonly observed by all. To say "Everyone is individualistic; it's impossible to serve the people wholeheartedly" is to overlook the inherent characteristics of laborers' ideology and ethics determined by the superior socialism.

One must admit, of course, that in our society today individualistic people are not yet extinct. Influenced by feudalistic remnants and capitalistic ideology, some comrades still separate the interests of the individual from those of society, placing emphasis only on the individual's interests. They practice deviationism in pursuit of private interests and drag themselves through the mire of individualism. That, however, is an isolated phenomenon rather than the mainstream. With the development of the two civilizations, individualism will surely make its exit, step by step, out of our society, while the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly will further strengthen its foothold to become a strong spiritual power in propelling society forward.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REASONS FOR CYL'S LACK OF APPEAL LISTED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 30 Jul 86 p 3

[Article: "Why Has the CYL Failed to Attract Membership Applicants?"]

[Excerpt] Comrade Editor:

I am the CYL branch secretary of a basic level unit which has many league members and young people. For some unknown reason, some young people do not actively apply for membership on the league organization, and my efforts have produced no apparent result. What is the reason for the situation?

Wang Ping [3769 5493]

Comrade Wang Ping:

The problem brought up in your letter is found in some units to different degrees. It is actually the issue of how to improve the attractiveness of the league organization. The responsibility does not rest on the young people, and the reason must be found in the work of the league.

1. League activities lack new ideas in substance, form and methods, and fail to fulfill the needs of its members and young people. With the progress of society, as the young people's range of knowledge is continuously expanding and their theoretical and educational levels are gradually improving, they are posing higher demands on the ideological and artistic qualities of league activities. On the other hand, in terms of some league organizations, launching activities means volunteer labor, and studies consist of newspaper reading. Uninteresting to league members and young people, they have lost their attraction and appeal.

Failing to exert an adequate effort on solving the young people's practical problems, league organizations have created a "crisis of confidence" among them. We know that the league organization is the party's link with young people. When young people encounter actual problems in work, living and study, some league organizations, instead of doing everything possible to help, are perfunctory and indifferent, hurting their feelings and destroying their sense of intimacy with the organization.

3. League building is not quite up to the mark, and league members fail to develop their exemplary roles. Young people often judge the league organization by its members. When a young person wishing to join the league sees the undesirable images of individual members, it engenders a feeling of doubt and conflict in him and makes him lose his respect for league members.

4. League organizations have failed to educate the young people regularly and systematically on league membership, and some young people do not understand the league organization's nature and struggle goal. As the young people have no profound basic knowledge of the league, while the league organizations have failed to impart such knowledge to them promptly, some young people think that joining the league is something mysterious.

Your friend, Fu Yuan [4395 0337]

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CSO: 4005/962

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFORM OF EXISTING POLITICAL STRUCTURE DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Yan Jiaqi [0917 1367 0366]: "China's Present Political Structure and Objectives of Its Reform"]

[Excerpts] The Present Political Structure: Overconcentration of Power

There are mainly three aspects of China's overconcentration of power:

1. No separation between the responsibilities of the party and of government. For a long time, there was no concept of a "lateral separation of power" in China, and the various party organizations, therefore, in actual practice were taking charge of matters which should be handled by the organs of the state, such as the executive and judicial organs. Because there was this lack of a separation of party and government ("government" here to be understood in its broad sense, comprising legislative, judicial, and executive organs), not only does the party act in place of government (meaning: all administrative organs of the state) to an extremely serious extent, but the system of people's congresses is also prevented from developing effectively and playing its due role in China.

2. The organizational structure and the cadre system is imperfect; there is no clear division of power between the central and local authorities, or between the organization as a whole and the individuals in it. Influenced by traditional Chinese cultural concepts, people generally lack consciousness of any "vertical division of power," thus believing that the higher the position of a man, the more is it possible for him to make all decisions for everyone below him in rank. However, according to the concept of the "vertical division of power," the leaders at the various levels should have certain spheres within which they would have to make their own independent decisions. Higher level organs may have the right to rescind a decision of the subordinate organ, but must not assume a decision-making position for all its subordinate organs. The lack of "vertical division of power" caused overcentralization of power in China, which prevented the full development of local initiative. Even in the party and government organizations and in the leadership of the various enterprises and industries, there is no possibility for the people to fully develop initiative because of this overcentralization of power and due to the various shortcomings that prevail in the cadre system.

Precisely as Comrade Deng Xiaoping expressed it, these organizations "have lacked for along time a strict system of administrative rules and regulations and a system of personal responsibility, from top to bottom. They have lacked rules to go by, so that most people are often unable to handle independently and responsibly the matters, big and small, which they are supposed to handle. They merely keep busy all day long making reports to higher levels, seeking instructions from them, writing comments on documents and passing them around."

3. If there is no separation of responsibilities between government, enterprises, and social organizations, the enterprises and the various social organizations actually become appendages of the administrative organs, and the central and local governments will take on many matters which should by rights be handled by the enterprises, social groups, and social organizations. This phenomenon is related to China's traditional cultural concepts. For a long time, people believed that there is no limit to the jurisdictional sphere of the government. People used to say: "An honest official will find it very hard to rule in family affairs." It is precisely because "family affairs" are vexatious, that the government will shun this area, but if ever the government would care to take them on, it could also administer such "family affairs." In the "cultural revolution," political power penetrated all spheres, even into people's ways of thinking and their private lives, which was indeed the extreme expression of that traditional concept of "political power" which prevailed among the people.

The overcentralization of power has come about in the course of the protracted development of China's political and economic system, but it is also closely linked with the lack of the concepts of "lateral division of power," "vertical division of power," and "division of power between government organization and social organization," a lack that has persisted over a long period of time in China.

#### The "Three-Faceted Policy" Not Applicable to the Reform of the Political System

The reform of the political system is a major affair of a comprehensive nature and of a deep and long-lasting impact. Without the leadership of the CPC, the reform of the political system cannot be successfully achieved. The change of the state of undivided responsibilities between party and government has as its purpose the improvement of party leadership, enhancement of government efficiency, and the greater effectiveness of the state and social organizations in the socialist modernization. Precisely because the reform of the political system is a major affair with bearing on the entire nation, the "three-faceted policy," namely of a simultaneous exploring, designing, and executing, is not suitable in the case of the reform of the political system. The reform must be built on the foundation of a thorough investigation and scientific analysis; the reform must be built on the foundation of a sound legal system; the reform must be carried out step by step in a well-led and well-planned manner. It will become necessary in the near future to coordinate action with the reform of the economic system and to set as our major objectives the reform of the cadre system and of government organization, to institute a division of labor between party and government,

to change the functions of government, and to enhance the efficiency of government work. In the long-term view, our major objectives must be to perfect the system of people's congresses, develop citizen participation and political democracy, and to provide through law effective guarantees for the democratic, free, and equal rights of the citizens. We believe that under the leadership of the CPC, and relying on the joint efforts of the various democratic parties, the various people's organizations, and the peoples of all races, China will certainly be able to establish a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy, a perfect legal system, and of great efficiency.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

EFFICIENCY, POLITICAL DEMOCRATIZATION DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Wang Huning [3769 3337 1337]: "Raising Efficiency in Relation to the Reform of the Political System"]

[Excerpt] The reform of the political system comprises two levels: democratization and achieving greater efficiency. Improvement of the efficiency in the political system is one of the primary tasks faced in China's social development, because all efforts to raise the efficiency in the political system are now seriously obstructed by bureaucracy, overstaffed organizations, a surplus of personnel, procedural confusion, overlapping authority, and the low quality of performance. These phenomena constitute veritable fetters, which hamper to certain extents the social, economic, and cultural developments. It is, therefore, one of the important objectives of the reform to achieve a higher efficiency in the Chinese political system.

Efficiency of any political system may be divided into many layers, such as policy-making efficiency, administrative efficiency, efficiency in meeting emergencies, efficiency in obtaining feedback, efficiency in attaining a state of balance, efficiency in self-renewal, etc. The total of all the various types of efficiency constitutes the efficiency of a political system. However, at the very roots of the matter, policy-making efficiency and administrative efficiency are the most basic ones. Only a political system that shows outstanding qualities in these two respects, can have attained a high degree of efficiency.

When analyzing the improvement in the efficiency of political systems, it is, first of all, necessary to determine a "reference coefficient" for a political system of high efficiency, as a basis for our analysis of political system efficiency. A comparative analysis of the great variety of political systems in today's world shows us that a political system of high efficiency must have the following characteristics: 1) It must be able to accurately evaluate and observe the trends of all the various social activities and relations; 2) It must have a comprehensive and far-sighted concept of the progression in the political system; 3) It must be able to reject and eliminate by itself any unsound concepts; 4) It must have a frame of mind that is all-encompassing in its policy decisions; 5) It must have great strength and capability to deal with emergency situations; 6) It must have abundant creativity and the

strength to pioneer new things; 7) It must possess an attitude conducive to implementation of modern administration; 8) It must possess authority for strict enforcement of orders and prohibitions; 9) It must have perfect means to give explanations of its policies; 10) It must be able to adjust quickly to changed situations. In the reform of our political system, it will be necessary to progress in the 10 directions indicated in the above, in order to attain greater efficiency in China's political system.

Whether the condition of these 10 indices will be achieved, will depend on a series of intricate and complex mechanisms. Because these mechanisms determine the degree of efficiency of the political system, they may be called efficiency mechanisms. Judging by the present organization and functions of China's political system, we have to admit that the existing efficiency mechanism adversely affects, and even obstructs, progress in the political system toward greater efficiency. The reform of the political system must transform the efficiency mechanism that is still attuned to patterns of the past; we must break out of the ossified patterns of the traditional economic system and of the corresponding noneconomic systems, to establish a perfect efficiency mechanism that will give impetus to progress toward greater efficiency in the political system.

Considering ways to perfect the efficiency mechanism, it seems China's reform of the political system must be pursued in the following three directions:

First, the power mechanism. This mechanism is a factor of key importance in determining the degree of efficiency in the political system. Whether authority is rationally distributed and appropriately arranged will directly determine the flexibility of the political system. China's many problems, past and present, are actually linked to its irrational or inadequate power mechanism. Irrational power relations cause all kinds of corrupt practices that hinder progress toward greater efficiency in the political system, such as overlapping of authorities, confusion in powers and functions, jurisdictional gaps, mutual jurisdictional disputes, mutual obstructions, and mutual shifting of responsibilities. As things stand today, the proper adjustment of power relations would, first of all, require that consideration be given to the relationship between party and government. This relationship is a basic facet of the political system in all socialist states, as it is also a relationship that requires superb political skill to arrive at a scientifically designed relationship. Because of their particular historical and social conditions, the socialist states have formed unique power mechanisms, which comprise the following four factors: the authority of the party, legislative power, administrative power, and judicial power. However, for a long time the relationship between the first and the other three spheres of power has never been properly resolved and constitutes a major problem in the reform of China's political system. Party and state have in recent years repeatedly stressed regulating party-government relations and separating party affairs from those of the government, but the two sides more often than not maintain a rather lukewarm relationship to each other. This has created a kind of twofold power mechanism and made it difficult to deal with the relationship between the departments of the party and those of the government in a satisfactory manner. The reform of the political system must, therefore, solve this problem by establishing a mechanism that, on the one hand, ensures

the leadership of the party and, on the other hand, forestalls any inharmonious relationships which could lead to mutual jurisdictional disputes, thus placing the leadership of the party in matters of state and government on a more scientific basis. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in the relationship between party and government administration, adjustments should begin with the central authorities. That is a very perspicacious opinion. Of course, the problem as to how, specifically, the relationship between party and government administration at the various levels is to be regulated, will still require careful and scientific investigation and research, before a solution can be gradually worked out. Furthermore, there has to be a reform of the vertical and horizontal power relations. The vertical power relations refer to the power relations between the various levels of the political system, which are the same as the ossified patterns in the traditional economic system. China's vertical power relations of the past had been centralized to a high degree. A country of so large a size, with a population of 1 billion, having all matters, huge or minute, decided by one central decision-making organ, is a system that is bound to hinder the efficiency in its political system. On the other hand, this situation is also apt to obstruct the development of creativity and creative capacity in the lower level organs, which would have an adverse effect on the flexibility and reaction capability of the political system. In the last few years, after smashing the ossified patterns in the economic system and following the simplification of government administration and the delegation of powers to lower ranks, great changes have already occurred, but these changes can evidently not yet meet the needs of China's four modernizations. The reform of the political system must further perfect the vertical power relations. The horizontal power relations refer to the power relations between organs of the same level in the political system. If these jurisdictional relations are not clearly defined, it may happen that some affairs are handled by everybody and some by nobody, so that efficiency, naturally, cannot possibly be high. If the above-mentioned three levels of relationships could be appropriately regulated, it would provide an excellent foundation for the achievement of greater efficiency in the political system.

Second, the conduct mechanism. The efficiency of the political system--to get to the bottom of the problem--is always made up by person to person actions. In a certain sense, the important factor that determines the efficiency of the political system is man's activities and man's conduct. The persons that are active and operate within the political system, their conduct, concepts, values, activities, and consciousness, directly determine the behavior of the political system, and, consequently, determine the efficiency of the political system. Our endeavors to achieve greater efficiency in China's political system will of course encounter man-made obstacles of various kinds. The achievement of greater efficiency in the political system will, therefore, depend on the transformation of the conduct mechanism. The primary factor of the conduct mechanism is man. The political system must, therefore, first of all, possess a practical and effective mechanism which can ensure that it will itself continuously and at a steady rate replace the old by the new, and which will ensure that outstanding talents of society are brought into the political system, thus leading to a change in the conduct pattern of the political system. It will, furthermore, be necessary to establish perfect conduct norms for the political system, i.e. a perfect legal system, and to ensure through

laws that the conduct mechanism of the political system will be beneficial for, and not hinder, the achievement of greater efficiency in the political system. What we have to formulate now is a systematic set of administrative laws, rules, and regulations. A solution must also be found for the problem of procedures for administrative litigation, to guarantee supervision by the political system itself and by society of the way the political system conducts itself. To be sure, from a broader viewpoint it appears that the conduct mechanism is tied up by a thousand and one links with a certain social and cultural environment, particularly linked, inseparably, with the political and administrative culture in it. The pattern of conduct that people display in the political system is guided by the political and administrative culture which they accept and maintain. Viewed from a broad angle it would, therefore, appear that raising the cultural level of the entire society would constitute an all-encompassing condition for the improvement of the conduct mechanism in the political system. These tasks will indeed require our protracted and untiring efforts.

Third, the technical mechanism. A political system of greater efficiency requires, as a guarantee for its continued existence, a certain organization and certain facilities. Generally speaking, as regards technical mechanism, a political system of greater efficiency must have at its disposal the following technical apparatus: 1) The decision-making organs at all levels, particularly those at higher levels, must have advanced auxiliary organs, such as specialized organs for the analysis of policy decisions, specialized advisors in matters of policy decisions, perfect information and evaluation teams, fifth generation computer systems, etc.; 2) Political organs at all levels must have certain brain trust networks; 3) Effective channels must exist for the public announcement of policies, as, for example, by means of popular broadcasting media, policy white papers, etc. To keep the general public aware of the activities of the political system through the publicizing of its policies is an important condition for greater efficiency in the political system; 4) A quick and ready system must exist for the appraisal of efficiency, a system which should be able to promptly appraise and test the efficiency of the political system and provide the relevant departments with feedback, so as to facilitate regulating the efficiency mechanism of the political system at all times. Though we see during the last few years the appearance of an inkling of these mechanisms, they are still insufficient, and great effort must still be exerted for their establishment.

Of course, as the political system is in the process of pursuing decision-making efficiency and administrative efficiency, there is, apart from the direct demand for greater efficiency, also not to be left out the achievement of a high degree of democratization of the political system. Without political democratization, there can be no democratic decision-making, no democratic consultation in political matters, no democratic supervision, no democratic administration, and indeed no improvement to speak in the efficiency of the political system. In this sense, these two levels of the reform of the political system, efficiency and democratization, supplement and complement each other, depend on each other, and promote each other. The development of one level by itself then would also signify development of the other level.

The highly developed efficiency of its political system is the principal indication for a country to be a modern state. Judging by present developments, raising the efficiency of the political system is also China's inevitable step on its way to modernization.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHARACTERISTICS OF LARCENY ANALYZED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 11 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Li Huaiying [2621 2037 5391]: "Larceny On the Rise"]

[Excerpt] As I see it, larceny today has the following characteristics: 1. the high incidence of crimes committed by roving bands of criminals. Roving larceny traditionally has been the target of crackdown by judicial organs, but it is still on the increase these days. Among the gang of robbers and hardened thieves uncovered in a certain city, for instance, were four criminals who roamed through the city's outlying suburbs, Guangzhou, Lanzhou, and Beidaihe in Hebei from February to November 1985, committing over 30 robberies netting more than 14,000 yuan in cash and valuables. What distinguishes roving larceny are that it covers a wide area, is highly mobile, and cannot be solved readily. Criminals take advantage of this and rob with a vengeance. They are highly dangerous and should be dealt with seriously.

2. the large number of crimes committed by fugitives from reform-through-labor camps and people who work in those camps. Crimes committed by people who run away from reform-through-labor camps and those who work there nowadays account for a considerable portion of all robberies. With no legitimate means of livelihood after fleeing the camps and totally hostile toward society, they turn to crime with abandon. As veteran criminals, they are reckless and wedded to their evil ways and break the law with no thought of consequences. They steal whatever they can get away with. Should they be caught red-handed, they would resort to violence there and then and rob. Criminal Hang, for example, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in 1980 for robbery, theft, and escape. In 1983, he was sent to Xinjiang for reform through labor. In March 1985, he ran away from the labor camp and found his way to Beijing. One day he was discovered stealing in a private home. The owner gave chase and was soon followed by members of the public along the way. Zhang immediately pulled out a dagger and spring knife to threaten the masses and stabbed somebody in his left arm. We can thus see that robberies and other crimes by fugitives from labor camps and camp workers constitute an even greater danger.

3. The large number of crimes involving hardened criminals. To these people, robbery is second nature. They are professional robbers, either part or full-time, and consider their ill-gotten gains their means of livelihood and the source of their extravagance. One city, for instance, has uncovered a major gang of robbers. Of its 11 members, 10 have been robbers for at least 2 to 3

years, some as long as a dozen. They survive on whatever they steal. They have long criminal records, move surreptitiously, and have a repertory of robbery techniques. Characteristically they are repeat offenders, their criminal history going back a long time.

4. The high incidence of crimes involving public properties and upscale merchandise. There are still weak spots in the management of a number of organizations, enterprises, and institutions. Taking advantage of this, robbers have a field day in shopping centers, warehouses, factories, and work places. Four members of a robbery gang robbed the warehouse of a labor service company five times between January and March 1985, walking away with various kinds of piece goods and clothes worth a total of 21,000 yuan. After being robbed, units rarely report to the authorities. When judicial agencies check with them after a criminal has confessed a crime, the units, for a variety of reasons and considerations, refuse to divulge the exact value of the stolen articles and even deny outright that they have been robbed. This causes immense difficulties for judicial work and may prevent the criminals from being brought to justice. This is one reason why public property theft is going up. In addition, robbers have been upgrading their targets, which now mainly consist of cash and such expensive items as gold and silver jewelry, TV sets, video cassette recorders, and woolen clothes.

5. High incidence of crimes in which foreigners are robbed. After opening to the outside world, the number of foreigners visiting China as investors, tourists, or to look up friends and relatives has risen substantially each year. And so has the incidence of crimes in which foreigners were robbed. Some robbers specialize in targeting foreigners. The service personnel at a number of hotels and guest houses and chauffeurs, in particular, exploit the convenience provided by their work to steal. Robbing foreigners creates a disastrous international effect and seriously undermines China's reputation.

6. Stolen goods can be disposed of easily. Controlling the disposal of stolen goods has always been an efficient way for judicial organs to investigate and solve robbery cases. But things have changed in recent years. Exploiting the loopholes in our management and the failure of some departments to strictly enforce relevant government policies and regulations, larcenists have been able to get rid of their stolen goods through diverse channels. Some criminals sell them at low prices to individual peddlers or out-of-town people who visit the city to procure sundry items. Some enter the illegal buying and selling business by simply marketing what they have stolen. In one city, two criminals committed 14 cases of larceny within a little over 2 months, stealing a large quantity of goods, renminbi, gold rings, TV sets, VCR's, cigarettes, and clothes with a combined value approaching 10,000 yuan. They operated at night and sold off some of their booty on the street during the day. Attracted by low prices, some people purchase articles of unknown origin. This makes it easy for larcenists to dispose of stolen goods. By promptly getting rid of stolen goods, larcenists deprive judicial organs of adequate evidence. Besides, it is difficult to track down stolen goods. All this vastly complicates the investigation and trial of larceny cases.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

YAN JIAQI ON 'HUMAN NATURE', LEGAL SYSTEM

Beijing XINGUANCH [NEW OBSERVATIONS] in Chinese No 17, 10 Sep 86 pp 15-16

[Article by Yan Jiaqi [0917 1367 0366]: "Reflections on the Goodness or Evil of Human Nature"]

[Text] 1. "Taking Short Cuts" a Common Phenomenon

There was a popular saying during the Cultural Revolution about "material force" and "spiritual force," "Material force must be destroyed by material force; spiritual force must be destroyed by spiritual force." The latter half of this saying actually served as the "theoretical basis" for the "mass criticism" unleashed by the Cultural Revolution. Now we advocate the development of a "spiritual civilization." Some people still harbor at the back of their minds the ideas that "unhealthy trends" and negative spiritual phenomena must be overcome by "spiritual force." In fact if we see spiritual progress only in this light, we will have trouble achieving our aim.

Nowadays many people abuse public office for private interests, give poor services, and otherwise "engage in all manner of improprieties professionally." How can we overcome them effectively? This issue deserves serious examination.

There are two ways to overcome these shortcomings. 1) "reform the system." 2) depend on the force of spontaneous social opinion. Of the two, the first is fundamental.

In any endeavor, if the legal system is not sound or equitable, then people will take "short circuits" in all kinds of ways, which means that they will exploit loopholes in the system and in the law and resort to short cuts to achieve their goals. This is what the public is talking about right now, that there are people who take advantage of shortcomings or inequities in the system and the law, and, defying both tradition and public opinion, commit acts injurious to social well-being and the interest of others.

There are gaps in China's current legal system: Many old institutions have been abolished, while new ones have not been perfected or made totally sound. So the phenomenon of taking "short cuts" is very widespread. Under these

circumstances, simply calling on people to be "civilized beings" is actually self-defeating.

## 2. The Starting Point for Sound Laws and Institutions Is The Recognition That "Human Nature Is Naturally Evil"

The question whether human nature is good or evil is not a question of whether man is good or bad at birth. The debate over the goodness or evil of man is an academic debate and has no significance whatsoever. The question we are discussing here about whether human nature is good or evil has to do with advancing spiritual progress, taking human nature as the point of departure.

Some people think that we need only work through the power of government to promote a positive social climate. That way everybody will be spiritually purified and become "a civilized being," moral and noble-minded.

Discussing ways to check "government abuses," an 18th century thinker in the West noted the need to use power to restrain power. He said, "It may be an insult to human nature to use this means to check government abuses. Yet if government itself is not the greatest insult to human nature, then what is it? If human beings were all angels, they would not need any government. If human beings were governed by angels, then they need not impose any checks on government." I agree with this interpretation of human nature. All institutions exist to guard against or restrict a merger between "evil human nature" and "power." Unfortunately, some of us, imagining human beings to be perfect, are always searching for the perfect man--the prototype "good" person--in the hope that he will spearhead the movement to improve the social climate. How can that be possible? When some individuals indulge in exaggerating their lofty morals and virtues, people of normal intelligence will say, "There! Either they are blowing their own trumpets, or they are trying to fool others."

## 3. The Call for Structural Reform Marks a Sharp Departure from Traditional Chinese Culture

The idea that man is naturally good is deeply rooted in China. Confucius talked about the rule of man. ("The Book of Rites," "The Doctrine of the Mean.") According to Mencius, "with an upright ruler in power, national stability is assured." ("Mencius, Li Lou," Vol 1.) Successive generations of rulers also advocated "benevolent rule." All of them pinned their hopes for national prosperity on the emergence of the "goodness in human nature." For thousands of years, people yearned for the emergence of "honest officials" and "enlightened monarchs" as if once "virtuous" rulers came to power, they would be relieved from suffering and could live and work peacefully and happily. In traditional Chinese culture, people also looked to "chivalrous heroes" with their shining virtues to promote their welfare and deliver them from danger. These traditional ideas were deeply imbedded in the national psyche in the past, seemingly leaving no room for the notion of "structural reform." "Reforms" like those initiated by Wang Anshi were mere tinkering within the status quo. Only as recent as the late 19th and early 20th centuries did a number of Chinese propose and implement "reform" and make "revolution" in a desperate effort to reshape China's traditional institutions. Because of the

powerful influence of "traditional culture," reform efforts either failed or achieved only limited results. After the founding of the PRC, China created a brand-new socialist order. Yet it was not long before the ideas of "searching for the perfect successor" and "fight selfishness, repudiate revisionism"--manifestations of the ideal of the "goodness of human nature"--took center stage in revolutionary garb. The Cultural Revolution abounds with examples of cruelty to humanity. The disaster of the Cultural Revolution awakened people to the critical importance of good laws and institutional reforms for China's progress. What should we do when stores display a poor service attitude? It would not have lasting effect merely to advocate that we become "civilized human beings." More important is to press ahead with reforms in the commercial and economic systems. We can say that practically as well as theoretically the restructuring of the economic and political systems marks a sharp departure from a Chinese cultural trait going back thousands of years, namely, the reliance on the "moral perfection of man."

#### 4. Even Good Laws and Systems Must Be Enforced By Man

It is not that we do not stress man's moral perfection or the development of the spiritual civilization, but we do so only within the framework of "structural reform."

If the starting point for drawing up good laws and establishing good institutions is the "evil of human nature," then it can be said that the starting point for improving the social climate is the "goodness of human nature." To enable society to develop healthily, we must not only open our eyes to the evil side of human nature, prevent the combination of "evil human nature" and "power" in all its forms, and prevent all attempts to take the "short cut," but also see the "goodness of human nature" and realize that it takes man to carry out even good laws. In a society with sound institutions and good laws, a society where few people take short cut, morality combines with conventions and public opinion to effectively elevate the social tone. Unlike institutions, laws, rules and regulations, morality, conventions and public opinion cannot be effected through "administrative fiat." While we can make institutions and laws perfect by relying on the policy-making and administrative power of the state to check the "excesses of human nature," we cannot tackle matters in the spiritual realm by administrative decree. History has time and again proved that it is wrong to use administrative power to adjudicate academic arguments. Similarly, administrative decisions cannot be relied upon to elevate the social tone.

Social organizations are extremely complex entities in nature, depending as they do on the integration of a web of rules, regulations, institutions, laws, morals, public opinion, and conventions. The progress of human civilization and the improvement of the various institutions in human society are so closely related that they cannot be separated. When a TV set breaks down, we all know that it must be fixed carefully. Yet when all manner of maladies crop up in a social organization, we resort to simplistic solutions, fall back on administrative decrees and decisions, or merely rely on spiritual forces to help solve problems in the spiritual world. It seems that we have been oversimplifying a complex issue. Therefore, to overcome the multitude of ills in society today--abuse of public office for private gain, unhealthy trends--

we must take a two-pronged approach. On the one hand, we must zero in on "institutional" reform. On the other hand, we must rely on the work of the educational, literary, artistic, academic, and publishing circles, on the universalization of education, on the development of culture, on spiritual progress, and on the power of spontaneous social opinion.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY'S POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Aug 86 p 1

[By reporter Jiang Haibo [3068 3189 3134]: "Anhui's Implementation of the Policy Toward the Intellectuals Shows Fast Progress and High Quality"]

[Excerpt] From August last year to June this year, residual problems in concerning intellectuals that needed solutions throughout the province have been resolved to 86.24 percent, and efforts are being made to basically fulfill the task of implementing the policy toward the intellectuals by the end of this year.

To ensure that the task of implementing this policy will be basically completed prior to the opening of the 13th CPC National Congress, the provincial party committee and organizational departments direct their attention to action against such mental impediments as the idea that "implementation of the policy toward the intellectuals is overdone" and the attitude of "being too busy, having too many things to attend to, being unable to attend to these tasks too." They energetically propagate the party's policy toward intellectuals, advocating respect for knowledge and respect for capable talents. At the same time, they linked implementation of the policy toward intellectuals with the composition of leading groups, and resolutely adjusted and replaced leading groups and leaders who did not respect the intellectuals, who impeded implementation of the said policy, and who, after due education, still did not change their attitude.

To accelerate the implementation of this policy, the responsible comrades in the party committees and organizational departments at all levels improved their style of work, went to the grassroots, and enhanced leadership. Since the beginning of this year, responsible comrades of the provincial party committee, of the organizational departments, and of the provincial office for implementation of the policy toward the intellectuals proceeded on different occasions to 9 prefectures and cities, among them Fuyang, Chuxian, and Lu'an, and to 19 counties (municipalities) for inspections and to supervise and urge completion of the task. In all of Anhui, 391 units of county level have basically completed their tasks of implementing the policy toward the intellectuals.

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CONFERENCE ON FIGHTING MAJOR, ECONOMIC CRIMES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Ji Dajing [4764 1129 4842]: "The Province-Wide Conference for the Exchange of Experiences in Combating Serious Economic Crimes Emphasized Investigation of Major and Important Cases and Ensuring Smooth Progress of the Reform"]

[Excerpts] The present conference was held at Taian from 27 to 30 July. The conference was of the opinion that great successes have been scored in the fight against serious criminal activities in the economic field. However, the struggle had proceeded in a very uneven way. Particularly in the investigation of major and important cases, progress was not very fast, and the blows dealt out to certain criminal elements were not sufficiently forceful. The conference emphasized that the investigation of major and important cases must still be pushed more vigorously. It must be the firm resolution: first, to be firm; second, to implement the accurate principles, namely to strictly implement the policies of the party, to punish serious criminal elements in the economic field according to law. Attention must be paid to differentiate between mistakes committed due to inexperience in the reform, or due to the incomplete state of rules and regulations, or deviations that had occurred in the course of exploring new methods in the course of the reform, from actual acts of taking advantage of loopholes in the reform and engaging in criminal activities in the economic field. When handling cases, there has to be clarity of facts, authenticity of evidence, and proceedings that will stand the test of history. The party secretaries at all levels shall strengthen guidance, include these matters as important items on their agendas, clearly and definitely establish responsibilities, accomplish these tasks, and closely cooperate with the public security, procuratorial, and judicial departments, and truly vigorously and effectively push the struggle of combating serious criminal activities in the economic field.

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#### FORUM ON POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Luo Guangyuan [5012 0342 6678]: "Recognizing the People as Masters and Scientific Allocation of Powers are the Overall Purpose of Reform of the Political System; A Symposium of the Editorial Department of This Paper Discusses Issues in the Reform of the Political System"]

[Excerpts] On 12 August, the editorial department of this paper invited some workers in the theoretical and practical fields from the Hefei Prefecture to a symposium for a discussion of issues in connection with the reform of the political system.

On the question of the guiding ideology for the reform of the political system, many comrades expressed that there is a sense of urgency, but that one must guard against impatience for quick results; one must proceed energetically yet with great care. Otherwise, it might be a case of haste failing to achieve desired results.

There was a general recalling of the past and comparing it with the present, looking into the future, and after, as a start, recounting the many abuses in China's political system, the debate turned to the importance and urgency of the reform of the political system. Everybody agreed that it was precisely the existence of serious abuses in the political system that allowed a political upheaval like the "culture revolution" to occur in China, and then to last for 10 years, those abuses are also the reason why the thorough reform of China's economic system and the development of a socialist commodity economy cannot make smooth progress. If these abuses are not eradicated, they are sure to become the proverbial "chin gu" magic formula [bestowing irresistible obnoxious powers] to plague China. The reform of the political system is, therefore, not only imperative but also a matter that is better done 1 day earlier than later; this is the sense of urgency in this matter.

However, since the reform of the political system will affect certain leadership institutions of party and state, and there is the need to uphold the four fundamental principles, while there is the need to improve party leadership and state institutions, this is a case of systems engineering with strong political and scientific connotations. Seeing the many circuitous roads that have been take in the past by certain socialist countries in

reforming their political systems, China has had little experience with reforms in its past, but learned many lessons. Even in several of China's recent organizational reforms, the anticipated objectives were not achieved. It even happened that the more efforts were made to retrench organizations, the more they swelled up, the more effort was made to reduce ranks, the more numerous they became, and the overstaffing of offices is becoming more and more of a serious problem. For instance, between 1980 and 1985, party and government cadres alone increased 49.3 percent. Moreover, since the reform of the political system lacked adequate theoretical preparation, had no ready-made patterns to go by, involved the personal interests of thousands upon thousands of cadres, particularly leading cadres of all ranks, also met obstruction by feudal ideologies, it had great difficulties. Only by maintaining an enthusiastic and cautious attitude, by transforming the reform of the political system into a process of political democratization, into a process of a thorough investigation and research of domestic and foreign political systems, into a process of probing into its theory, and also by instituting scientific debate, will it be possible to arrive at a good program for the reform of the political system and achieve ultimate success.

What is the inherent meaning of the reform of the political system, what areas does the reform comprise? Those at the symposium made varying comments from different viewpoints, displaying a variety of understandings. However, there was unanimity of opinion among those at the symposium on the overall orientation of the reform, namely that, while generally recognizing the principle of the people being masters, there is the need to arrange the powers of the state--whether in vertical or horizontal respects--in a scientific manner. The former principle is a question of China's basic institution, namely implementation of the people's democratic dictatorship, the latter concern is the problem of substantiating and perfecting China's political system. It is, therefore, necessary that the recognition of the people as masters accede priority to the basic political right of the people to administer the state. We must not interpret the recognition of the people as masters as allowing something like "being lord-master on behalf of the people" or "posing as spokesman for the people," nor must we interpret it merely as "letting the people speak" or as the development of a democratic style of work by leading cadres. Under the premise of a genuine recognition of the people as masters, we must institute a scientific allocation of powers, according to the provisions of the constitution, among the organs of authority, such as the NPC, the governments at all levels, the law courts, the procuratorates, etc. In this matter, it is particularly necessary to seek a solution in the question of the party-government relationship and as to the overcentralization of power. We must change such phenomena as "the party committee decides and the government carries out" or of having the NPC as an organ of state authority without being endowed with full state powers.

To implement the above-stated overall orientation of the reform, some comrades proposed that a "representative system" replace the present "senior official" system," that an "election system" replace the present "disguised hereditary system," that a "term appointments" replace the present "lifetime appointments for leading positions," that the cadre system should be reformed, and that the principle of recognizing the people as masters be realized. Many comrades

considered a penetrating criticism of feudal ideologies as the major ideological precondition for the reform of the political system and wanted this ideological work to permeate the entire process of the reform of the political system.

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WANG FANG ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK, PARTY WORK STYLE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 86 p 1

[Excerpts] The Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee held a meeting on 18 August at Hangzhou of leading groups in units directly under the provincial government for the exchange of experiences in ideological work and party workstyle.

Comrade Wang Fang [3769 5364], secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee, spoke on the questions of how to intensify ideological work and the buildup of party workstyle among leading groups in units directly under the provincial government.

When speaking on the question of ideological development, Comrade Wang Fang pointed out that a further deep-going development of the reform requires breaking the fetters of all kinds of outmoded concepts. For instance, what is meant by leadership of the party. The CPC is the core of leadership in the socialist undertaking, but the leadership of the party is mainly one of political thinking and of political line, principles, and policies. On this issue, our ideas had been blurred in the past, when we assumed that leadership by the party meant too that the party involved itself in all affairs, an idea that had a detrimental effect on enthusiasm in many other quarters. The lessons that we learned from positive and negative experiences should have made it clear to us by now: First, that the party organization is not an organ that issues orders. In all its activities, the party must observe the provisions of the constitution and of all laws and decrees. We cannot depart from or violate law in issuing policies or assigning cadres to certain posts. Second, that we must not add all and sundry matters on to the agenda of the party, and in the matter of requesting instructions from higher authority, the method of doing so on a wholesale scale must also be changed. If a unit has to refer a matter for instructions to the NPC or the government, there is no need to refer all such items to the party committee for instruction. Whenever anything is referred to the party committee, it will have to check and see whether it is really a matter to be handled by the party committee. Third, that enterprises must acquire a new concept of the leadership of the party. It must be clearly defined to what limits reform and construction are being extended, so that the political and ideological work of the party may be extended to these very limits, ensuring the smooth progress of reform and construction. For instance, in the matter of recognizing the superiority of

socialism, there have been in the past a variety of one-sided explanations, preserving such ideas as egalitarianism, eating from the big pot, freezing commodity prices, etc. as constituting the superiority of socialism. Although there has by now been a great change, there is still diversity of opinion among the people as to what is socialism and what is capitalism. I believe merely accepting socialist economy as the principal component, upholding the principles of allowing some people to become prosperous ahead of others in order to attain prosperity for all, upholding the principle of distribution according to work, these are the characteristics of socialism. The core of it is that what is beneficial for the development of the productive forces and the factors that arouse the enthusiasm of all quarters fully represent the superiority of socialism. Furthermore, there is, for instance, the question of how to view traditional styles of work. The party has many excellent traditions, for instance, the workstyles of linking theory with reality, maintaining close links with the masses, criticism and self-criticism, being hardworking, thrifty, and economizing, building up the country through thrift and hard work, being industrious and thrifty in all affairs, engaging in arduous struggle, etc. All these styles of work must be continued, upheld, encouraged, and glorified. However, there are also some matters which, though playing a positive role under the historical conditions of their times, have by now with the progress of time and changes of conditions, to be provided with new content. There are also some things which in their time were "leftist" errors, which must now be thoroughly abandoned and negated. Of course, in the process of reform, we must be directed by the theories of Marxism. Moreover, there is the question of maintaining political identity with the central authorities. This is an article of political discipline that must not be violated. However, this does not mean that we have to copy and indiscriminately apply the instructions of the central authorities; we must rather implement them by integrating them with the realities of the unit or system in question and start work in a creative manner.

When discussing the establishment of a style of work, Wang Fang emphatically stressed the need to solve the following three questions: First, there is need to intensify tempering everyone in party spirit and to create true servants of the people with honesty in the performance of their duties. It is demanded of every leading cadre that he remain completely incorruptible, that he use his authority for the common good, that he conscientiously put a stop to all unhealthy tendencies which show characteristics of special trades or professions, and that he wholeheartedly accept service to the people as the purpose of all his activities. Second, there is the need to uphold the principle of democratic centralism and to strengthen the solidarity within the leading groups. We must oppose on the one hand an attitude of "letting one person alone having the say," but must rather have a democratic atmosphere in which everyone is allowed to speak his mind freely, and should also be resourceful and decisive, enabling the collection of appropriate ideas from everyone, and being able to arrive at prompt decisions. Third, there is the need to establish a down-to-earth style of work, with little empty talk and many accomplishments.

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#### FAILURE IN ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM EXPLAINED

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Yang Xuemin [2799 1331 2404]: "Why Such Poor Results in China's Many Organizational Reforms?"]

[Text] China has undergone several organizational reforms since the founding of the PRC; why have results been so poor? Besides, government organs that retrenched frequently grow even larger. What is the reason for this evil cycle? Of course, there are complex circumstances and a variety of different reasons. In my opinion, the following are the main reasons:

First, when government organs are established, there is always pressure to have a correspondence between higher and lower levels. Whatever departments the higher authority has, they must correspondingly be set up at its lower levels, otherwise, operating funds, supplies, etc. would suffer restrictions. During the last few years, especially when temporary agencies were set up, this phenomenon was particularly notable. According to a report from Wuhu City, more than 90 temporary agencies were set up in that city last year, which all emphasized this correspondence between higher and lower organizations. As an evil consequence of setting up these temporary agencies, the functional departments were directly and adversely affected in their performance, and there was a large increase in leading cadres. It is therefore necessary in organizational reforms to reform from top to bottom; the central authority must be reformed first, because without a reform in the central authority, it will not be possible to reform at the lower level.

Second, the irrational cadre and personnel system. The fact that for many years it was impossible to achieve a retrenchment in state organs, and that, on the contrary, retrenchments made them even grow larger, is directly related to the irrational cadre and personnel system. It is my opinion that the current cadre system in China still maintains, in disguise, a system of lifetime appointments; cadres can move up but never down, can become officials but will never be returned to civilian life. Some leading cadres of retirement age are still moved from "first line" to "second line" appointments of welfare nature, or if not possible to make it into officialdom at this department, may be able to become official in another department. Many people are appointed as investigating and research personnel, supervisory personnel, actually given titles but no functions and getting salaries without working.

Organizational reforms, to be successful, must, therefore, be closely linked with a reform of the cadre and personnel system.

Third, there has been no corresponding change in the administrative functions of the government. Divorced from changes in the administrative functions of government, any independent pursuit of organizational reform is doomed. This point is fully evidenced by the lessons of the past. The administrative function of government is the basis for setting up the administrative organ, and the occurrence of an administrative function of government has to come about through a corresponding organization. The establishment of an organ of administrative operations must, therefore, serve the needs of an administrative function. China's political system and its organizational structure was established in the early years after the founding of the PRC. Several reforms have made little change, but the system is beset with many shortcomings, such as overcentralization of power, no separation between party and government, serious constraints on the people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativity. If organizational reform is to succeed, it is necessary to effect a transformation in the administrative functions of government organs, otherwise, reform cannot possibly show results.

Fourth, inappropriate disposition of centralization and decentralization of power. Many years of practice have proven that whenever the central authorities emphasize centralization of power, there is an inflation of the organs of the central government and shrinkage of local administrative organs. Whenever decentralization is stressed, there may be a reduction in organs of the central authorities and inflation in the administrative organs of the local authorities. There is, therefore, a constant fluctuation, an up and down in the establishment of government organs from central to local authorities, depending on centralization or decentralization of power. In future reforms of the political system, this problem must be effectively solved, otherwise, even if the reform will show certain temporary results, they cannot be of long duration and will not stand the tests to which they will be put.

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#### CONSOLIDATION OF ACHIEVEMENTS IN PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] The work of consolidating and developing the achievements in party rectification at Shanghai is currently being undertaken by all leading organs of ward, county, bureau and higher levels, as an important component of party building.

The situation during a little over 2 months at certain leading organs indicates that the consolidation and development of the achievements of party rectification are beneficial for the promotion of the reform and for economic development, also beneficial for the rectification of party work style and for an improved structuring of leading groups.

Further rectification of service guidance ideology and enhancing the overall knowledge of the reform. Since a little over 2 months, the party and government at Minxing and Putuo wards worked hard to promote the reform and for economic development. In its efforts to develop the regional economy, Minxing ward emphasized municipal construction, and, furthermore, by such methods as helping the large municipal factories in its area to start up tertiary industries, developing collective economy, and establishing horizontal economic ties with other provinces and municipalities, and accumulated capital, thereby greatly increased the financial reserves of the ward. Putuo ward started out from the actual conditions of the ward, set up "Sanwan Lane 1" as key sector for transformation, and is now working hard in a down-to-earth manner to transform the old district and build up a new district.

Further rectify and strengthen the building of party work style. Having set up a party work style responsibility system at all organs of the 12 wards, some of the wards intensified the investigation and analysis of the party work style in the leading groups of the subordinated units, some made periodical or irregular checks on party work style in units that had completed party rectification, some emphasized the detection of major and important cases and the conscientious investigation and elimination of unhealthy tendencies in organs of the districts in question.

Continuous efforts to improve the structuring of leading groups. Efforts are now being made to solve residual problems and newly arising problems in

certain leading groups, after completion of the party rectification. The party committee at the Municipal Bureau of Construction is conscientiously engaged in settling certain residual problems from the party rectification in organs and of new problems that surfaced during the first stage of party rectification. The party committee of Nanshi ward resolved on different occasions the problem of weaknesses and lack of solidarity in two leading groups of subordinate neighborhood party committees. During return visits to leading groups of units, where party rectification had been concluded, the party committee of Xuhui ward discovered that particular leading groups required further adjustments and removed from office five incompetent leading cadres in units of county delegation rank.

Further perfection in the institutional life of the party. An obvious turn for the better has by now occurred in the 12 wards as to the tendency of leading cadres finding themselves unable to periodically attend the organizational life of the party branch of their station. The leading groups of the party committees in the Municipal Bureau of Communications, the Municipal Bureau for Rural Affairs, and in the Municipal Bureau of Agriculture have launched criticism and self-criticism as part of the democratic life, and have sought out shortcomings in the leading groups, as such were pointed out or became revealed in the course of the party rectification at the basic levels.

However, as we understand, the work of consolidating and developing the achievements of party rectification is very uneven in the leading organs of the party committees and the offices of the highest level. Some are still not yet forceful enough in implementing appropriate measures, and they do not show distinct achievements. For this reason, Zhou Ke [0719 0344], head of the Municipal Office for Party Rectification, again demanded at yesterday's party rectification symposium of large ports and wards that all leading organs must be sure to make overall dispositions, and with a view toward further development, pay serious attention to the effective pursuit of this type of work. He pointed out that how the relevant party branches administer party affairs, how the party shows itself apt to manage party affairs, how the relevant party branches render service at the grassroots levels, also the strengthening of vertical crosswise relationships, strengthening cooperation between city and countryside, and establishing a new work style in professions and trades, are all problems for which solutions must be found within the consolidation and development of the achievements of party rectification. Consolidating and developing the achievements of party rectification will bring about a broader outlook and a further revolutionization and modernization in thought and knowledge among all our leading cadres.

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PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK IN SHANGHAI SUBURBS REPORTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 86 p 1

[By reporters Hui Kang [1920 1660] and Pei Kun [1014 0981]: "Party Rectification is Fully Under Way Among the Last Group of Shanghai Suburbs; Studies Emphasize Enhancing Knowledge of the Reform Among Party Members, Resolving Simultaneously the Problem of Serious Cases of Misuse of Authority for Private Gain and of Violations of Law and Disruption of Discipline Committed by a Small Number of Cadres"]

[Text] At present, over 105,000 party members from more than 6,400 basic units in the suburbs of Shanghai are beginning their party rectification studies. As part of the last batch of the suburban party rectification units, they will particularly stress enhancing their knowledge of the reform, as the key topic to attain unification of thought among party members.

During the latter half of this year, over 189,000 party members from a total of 9,000 basic party branches in the suburbs of Shanghai will take part as the last batch in the party rectification, which is scheduled to end in January of next year. Many basic party branches, in reviewing the process of reform in the rural areas during the last few years, summed up experiences and lessons, and overcame a certain mentality, which they originally held, such as fearing the risks involved in the reform, maintaining a wait and see attitude, sticking to the old ways, not daring to be creative, etc. Many party members gained new knowledge regarding the reform in the rural areas, which is now being carried out with increased intensity. This helped them free themselves of the small producer mentality of the natural economy and acquire the new concept of a planned commodity economy.

The basic party rectification currently going on in the suburbs, with its key concern being the rectification of the style of work and of discipline, resolved the problem of serious cases among a small number of party members and leading cadres of misusing authority for private gain and of serious violations of law and disruption of discipline. The party organization in the counties, townships, and villages began, starting with the preparatory stage of party rectification, to generally pay greatest attention to the investigation, study, and searching out of the "two serious" problems.

The party rectification office of the municipal party committee and the rural party secretaries of the municipality held a meeting yesterday at Xinzhuang in Shanghai County for the exchange of information on the basic rural party rectification in the suburbs. Zhou Ke [0719 0344], head of the party rectification office of the municipal party committee, and Ni Hongfu [0242 7703 4395], secretary of the rural party committee of the municipality, attended the meeting and gave speeches.

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ANHUI FORUM ON REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 86 p 1

[By reporters Su Zequan [5685 3419 3123] and Wang Jie [3769 2638]: "At the Forum of Party Secretaries and Heads of Propaganda Departments of Provincial Institutes of Higher Learning, Xu Leyi [1776 2867 5030] Demanded of These Institutes that they Effectively Implement the Separation of Party and Government, Organize Democratic Administration, and Forge Ahead at the New Pace of the Reform"]

[Text] At the recently concluded forum of party secretaries and heads of propaganda departments of provincial institutes of higher learning, Xu Leyi, deputy secretary of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, pointed out that there are presently two basic problems to be effectively solved in the reform at colleges and universities, namely the separation of party and government and the institution of democratic administration. He demanded that Anhui's colleges and universities forge ahead at the new pace of the reform, so that they may catch up as quickly as possible with the overall state of the reform.

At the speed that advances were made during the last few years in the reform at Anhui's colleges and universities, some breakthroughs have indeed been achieved in their organizational system, and certain valuable experiences have been gained in establishing a responsibility system for department heads. However, certain problems remain and deserve our attention. The progress of the reform at the colleges and universities is not yet fast enough and lags behind the state of the reform of the economic system. Teaching and study morale among teachers and students is not high enough, and the school spirit, as well as the spirit of teaching and studying is not yet ideal. Although there has been great progress in ideological and political work, that area is still a weak link, as it does not yet fully play its role in effectively mobilizing and inspiring teachers and students to devote themselves to the reform.

It is Xu Leyi's belief that the unsatisfactory state of the reform at colleges and universities is caused by many reasons and actual difficulties. He emphatically pointed out that the reform is the opportunity for a radical solution of all contradictions now existing at colleges and universities, and also for the elimination of difficulties these institutions are facing. The institutions of higher learning must look at the rapid developments made in

the reform of the economic system and of the system of science and technology throughout the country; they must gain an increased sense of urgency and must realize that if they do not accelerate their own reform, and do not train talented specialists who are imbued with a strong spirit of reform, they will suffer the fate that history will allot to them! Party secretaries at colleges and universities must absolutely place reform as a primary concern on their agendas, must command the initiative in the reform, stand at the forefront of the reform movement, and energetically promote its progress.

Instituting a responsibility system for college and university presidents is an important step in the reform of the college and university system and will have a major impact on the various aspects of reform at the institutes of higher learning. Comrade Xu Leyi urged all colleges and universities to actively create conditions that will allow the gradual introduction of a responsibility system for college and university presidents. He said that instituting the responsibility system for college and university presidents requires, first of all, the effective solution of the problem of division of labor between party and government. The party secretary shall take charge of party affairs; his duties are to do a good job of party work; that is his proper duty. If he were to take on administrative work, it would inevitably amount to "planting someone else's private plot, while neglecting one's own 'responsibility field'." The party secretary must regard ideological and political work, strengthening party building, as well as ensuring and supervising implementation of the specific and general policies of the party at colleges and universities as his main tasks. A responsibility system for party secretaries of the type "whatever the party secretary says goes," and a responsibility system for college and university presidents of the type "whatever the president says goes" is completely wrong. The responsibility system for presidents is also not intent on having them take on all and every task and to labor the whole day over business affairs without being able to accomplish anything. Implementing a responsibility system for presidents is to have matters not decided singly by the one person of the president, as it is also not a simple transfer of authority, it is rather the reform and establishment of an institution. Presidents and party secretaries should "go into battle with a light pack," and pursue the reform wholeheartedly. Because the old system of having the party take the place of government, and having the party secretary handle all kinds of matters, has been practiced for many years, people have, psychologically and in their working methods, formed fixed patterns and habits. For this reason, Xu Leyi expressed the special hope that party secretaries at colleges and universities will, during the process of instituting the responsibility system for college and university presidents, make efforts to explore completely new methods, conscientiously work at reforming the system of internal administration at colleges and universities, simplify administration and delegate authority, and, through ample and extremely meticulous ideological and political work, actively assist the presidents in their work, mobilize and organize cadres at all levels to draw distinctive lines of official responsibilities, draw up systems of personal responsibilities for each position, and have the presidents not get bogged down in business affairs.

Comrade Xu Leyi said that the reform is an undertaking that can be accomplished only with the participation of the masses of millions. This

requires a full development of socialist democracy and the creation of an environment and atmosphere conducive to participation by the people in our reform experiment. An environment of this kind is particularly important for the institutes of higher learning, engaged in instruction and scholarly research. The reform at institutes of higher learning will arouse the enthusiasm in all quarters and, most importantly, the enthusiasm of teachers. Following the total and thorough reform at colleges and universities, democratic administration within the schools must be raised to become an important point on the agenda of the day. There has to be, first of all, perfection and enhancement of the role of teacher representatives assemblies, using appropriate forms to have professors and specialists (including government and industrial cadres) participate in administration and decision-making, rendering the decision-making in school affairs more democratic and scientific. Second, the democratic administration of the schools should be enhanced by means of student unions, having the students gain an increased sense of responsibility as masters. There definitely has to be a change in the work style of the school leadership; they must listen attentively to the dissenting opinions of teachers and students and create on the campuses an excellent atmosphere conducive to reform and scholarly research. At present, there is in our colleges and universities on the one hand an insufficient development of democracy, as we also have the occurrence of lax and improper conduct and discipline. Excellence in school spirit is demonstrated not only in an environment and atmosphere of democracy, solidarity, and harmony, but there also has to be excellence in the way order is maintained, strict discipline is observed, and there has to be the spirit of energetic progress and of assiduous instruction and study. The party secretaries at colleges and universities must make establishment of an enlightened school spirit the core task in their ideological and political work. The workstyle of the party has to be further corrected, and greater efforts must be made to establish an excellent school spirit and to promote the healthy and rapid progress of reform at the institutes of higher learning.

9808

CSO: 4005/035

EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

HENAN PLANT DIRECTORS CALL FOR POLITICAL REFORM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 86 p 2

[Article: "Interfering Grandmas Take Away Authority Delegated by the Central Authorities, Making It Hard To Run Enterprises; Some Plant Directors in Henan Call for Reform of Political System To Ensure Delegation of Authority to Enterprises"]

[Text] "The central authorities delegate us authority, then all the meddling grandmas below them take it back. It's just impossible for us!" This reporter heard these words repeatedly while recently interviewing several plant directors in Zhengzhou City, Henan Province. It is the belief of these directors that without a reform of the political system and the streamlining of supervisory agencies, the genuine delegation and expansion of authority to the enterprises cannot be guaranteed, and it will be nearly impossible to arouse enthusiasm.

According to my understanding, 196 units in Zhengzhou City have implemented the plant director system of responsibility, approximately half of the city's industrial, transportation, and commercial enterprises. In the last few years, the Zhengzhou municipal CPC committee, the city government, and the enterprise supervisory departments have done quite a bit of work in implementing the regulations of the State Council regarding the delegation of authority, but due to the fact that corresponding overall political reforms have not been made in the supervisory units and departments of quite a few enterprises, and to the failure to implement fully the delegation of authority, some powers that should have been given over to the enterprises have not been delegated; some powers have been delegated, but after a short period of time, they are taken back by the supervisory departments. According to a survey of typical cases, more than 40 percent of the powers designated for decentralization announced by the State Council have not yet been implemented at present. The most noteworthy manifestations of this are:

1. Failure to implement the delegation of the authority to market products. According to the State Council's regulation on the delegation of authority, all products with the exception of raw materials allocated by the state may be marketed by the enterprises. However, this May the Henan Province textile bureau issued a regulation stating: "Any textile mill that needs to export cloth outside the province must obtain stamps of approval from the textile

bureau and the bank and railway department or else permission will be denied." The Xhangzhou City CPC committee ruled that "all enterprises must regard products that are listed as raw materials for other industries as part of a directive plan and conscientiously implement it. Cotton yarn and other cloth may not freely leave the city without the permission of the city textile company." Faced with such regulations, the textile mill directors said with great emotion that in the past 2 years, while sales of cotton yarn and grey cloth were stagnant, the province and city did not do a thing to help, but rather required the enterprises to find their way out of their quandary. Now that sales are good, they have issued all these regulations to hinder us. As a result, the enterprises not only lack the authority to market their own products, but there has been a detrimental effect on the enterprises' business relations with the outside as well.

2. Failure to delegate authority over organizational structure. The State Council has stipulated that within the bounds of the supervisory organs relating to personnel, the enterprise shall have the authority to organize its own structure and assignment of personnel according to special production needs and practical realities. The relevant departments may make demands on the enterprises based on the needs of business-related work, but no department can force the enterprises to change the ratio between structure and allocated personnel. Yet some departments insist on doing this. Or they adopt various measures to harass the enterprises. Since 1984 one cotton mill combined some of its sectors according to the needs of production and operational management. This brought on criticism and inspections from numerous different departments, leaving the director at a loss as to what to do. Some departments demand that the enterprises adjust their organization establishment, and assign specialized personnel according to a prearranged proportions. Also, there must be a letter of employment for the director, an official stamp, and an office. When factories suggest the amalgamation of several similar offices and sections, each work item must have a specialist appointed as responsible person, without someone specially appointed to take care of each job, the supervisory unit disapproves on the grounds that this shows a lack of conscientiousness, and insists on specialized offices for each task.

3. Failure to implement the delegation of authority over personnel management. The State Council has stipulated that the enterprises may choose cadres from among the workers based on need. Terms of office are to be the same as those of other cadres. When such cadres revert to being workers again and are no longer cadres, they shall stop receiving cadre pay and treatment. One factory selected a young worker to be the director's assistant, but the supervisory bureau has ignored the request for approval, dragging the affair out for half a year. The State Council has stipulated that the enterprises have the right to recruit workers openly based on production and special professional needs, with the guidance of the labor departments. But the labor departments have refused to implement this regulation, and insist on not only managing but demanding the right to approve the number of workers that the enterprise recruits and from where they may be recruited. One large-scale cotton mill wanted to recruit contract workers in the city, but the labor department would not approve and insisted that the mill recruit from a neighborhood 20-30 li away. As a result, the 11 contract workers

recruited transferred out of the mill within less than a year. Last year, the city's labor department refused to give instructions when there was an urgent need for more labor in the mill, so there was no other choice but to seek aid from a textile enterprise of a neighboring county, borrowing some of their workers to get the job done.

An analysis of the situation reveals that the reason for this is that the supervisory organs are too large, with more personnel than necessary, which leads to sluggish work. With so many offices and personnel, they have to look for things to do to keep them busy. Some will not relinquish an iota of power; some stipulate that they will only approve things in their own interests. Anything else will be clamped down on. The plant directors call for an expansion of the plant director responsibility system and a serious attempt to resolve the problems of the limits of power of enterprise supervisory departments, along with the deepening of the reform. If this is not done, the plant director will remain the same as in the past, having only responsibility but no authority, and it will be impossible to implement effectively the plant director system of responsibility.

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EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY RECRUITMENT AT HEALTH INSTITUTE--Beijing's ZHONGGUO GAODENG JIAOYU [CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION], a journal sponsored by the Ministry of Education, reports in Chinese in its 13 Aug 86 issue on pp 43, 40 that the CPC Committee at the Wuxi Health Institute in Jiangsu has been actively recruiting new party members among students, and that there are no quotas restricting the number of new recruits. [Editorial Report]

PROBLEMS IN DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK--At yesterday's working conference on the municipality's discipline inspection work, Wu Bangguo [0702 6721 0948], deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, pointed out: We now have the following problem: Once emphasis is placed on rectifying the party's style of work and on correcting unhealthy tendencies, comrades engaged in economic work are feeling pressured; once emphasis is placed on rendering support to the reform and the reformers, then pressure is again felt by the comrades engaged in discipline inspection work. It shows that there is still a tendency to place the reform into antagonistic contrast to the rectification of the party's style of work. However, actually, taking action in major and important cases and in the correction of unhealthy tendencies is necessary to ensure success of the reform. Because if unhealthy tendencies are not corrected, especially if unhealthy tendencies of a professional nature are allowed to continue, it would not be pursuing the reform, but rather sabotage of the reform and destroying the reputation of the reform. In a more positive sense, the correction of unhealthy tendencies as such is preparing the way for new productive forces. [Excerpts] [Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 1 Aug 86 p4] 9808

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

PLANT DIRECTORS' RIGHT TO HIRE, FIRE CADRES DISCUSSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Lo Maocheng [5012 5399 1004]: "Plant Director To Have Final Say in Hiring and Firing of Middle-level Cadres; Sichuan Province Adheres to Plant Director System of Responsibility"]

[Text] The Sichuan Province CPC committee and provincial people's government recently resolved that all enterprises implementing the plant director responsibility system must guarantee the director's right to direct production, to make policy decisions on operations, and to employ and dismiss administrative cadres. Proposals for the selection of a plant's chief engineer, head accountant, and deputy director are to be submitted by the plant director to the enterprise party committee to elicit the committee's opinion, and then are to be sent on for review and approval based on cadre administration authority. Proposals for the selection of middle-level administrative cadres are to be made by the plant director by consulting with the party committee, with the decision to be made by the director. When there is a difference of opinion between the director and party committee, the plant director will have the last word.

Sichuan Province's attempts to implement a provisional plant director system of responsibility began in May 1984. As of today, 1,033 of the province's local state-run industries, and transportaiton, construction, and installation enterprises within the budget, or 34 percent of the total, have already implemented such a system.

In order to ensure the smooth functioning of the plant director system of responsibility, the Sichuan Province CPC committee and government have called for the selection and assignment of cadres of high political, professional, and educational caliber, with a strong ability to manage production and administrative organization as plant directors. Plant directors are expected to accept the supervision of the party committee and to do a good job of democratic management relying on the worker masses.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

CONFERENCE ON HANDLING MAJOR CASES REPORTED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 86 p 1

[By correspondent Zhang Biyou [1728 1801 0147]: "The Conference of Provincial Law Courts on Handling Major and Important Cases Demanded Punishment To Be Meted Out With Severity, While Also Strictly Drawing Clear Distinctions of Policy Nature"]

[Text] When handling major and important cases, the principle of punishing with severity must be upheld, while also strictly drawing clear distinctions of policy nature, the aim being to be accurate and quick. This is the demand that was put forward at the conference called by the provincial law courts, held from 29 July to 2 August, and attended by the presidents of intermediate level people's courts and presidents of criminal tribunals of the entire province.

It was pointed out at the conference that since the beginning of this year the number of particularly obnoxious cases has increased in certain localities, and adjudicating the many serious criminal cases in the economic field has become a very arduous task.

It was pointed out at the conference that, while ensuring the quality of proceedings, major and important cases should be adjudicated with greatest possible speed. Where the death sentence has to be imposed, it should be done without softheartedness, and where severe punishment has to be imposed, it should be done with firmness and without leniency. Wide publicity should be given to the judgements concluding such cases, in order to deal merciless blows to the arrogance of the criminal elements. In handling criminal cases in the economic field, attention must be paid to economic sanctions, and under no circumstances shall such criminal elements be allowed to gain improper economic advantage. In the case of government organs, organizations, or commercial and industrial enterprises committing serious economic crimes, such as engaging in speculation and profiteering, smuggling and trading in contraband, tax evasion and resisting taxation, they shall not be allowed to excuse themselves by the fact that there had been no embezzlement of public funds or personal aggrandizement. In such cases there must be not only a thorough investigation of the criminal responsibility of directly responsible personnel, but also an investigation according to law of the responsible personnel who directly organized, planned, and directed the crime. Government

personnel who use the facilities of their offices to engage in criminal acts must be punished with the greatest severity the law permits. Severe punishment according to law must also be meted out to those who act highly irresponsibly in production or in their economic activities, or who through neglect of duties cause serious losses to the state or to people in ways that constitute criminal acts.

The conference also discussed several limitations of a policy nature, when it was pointed out: attention must be paid to draw a clear distinction between cases where in the course of carrying out reforms mistakes have occurred due to inexperience and cases where advantage had been taken of opportunities offered by the reform to exploit certain loopholes by criminal actions; clear distinction must be drawn between violations of administrative rules and regulations and violations of criminal law; clear distinction must be drawn between unhealthy tendencies and economic crimes; clear distinctions must be drawn between cases of bureaucracy and criminal dereliction of duties.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

PLANT DIRECTOR RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Shihong [4545 0013 7703]: "With Identicial Objectives, Each Performs His Duties to the Fullest with Close Coordination; CPC Committee Secretaries and Directors of 10 Shanghai Steel Mills Discuss the Plant Director Responsibility System"]

[Text] In the 2 years that the plant director system of responsibility has been implemented in Shanghai's 10 steel mills, striking achievements in production and reform have been made. Quotas for both production and profits were overfulfilled from this January to May. CPC committee secretary Yang Yiping [2799 4135 5493] told this reporter that "in the plant director responsibility system, the plant director takes responsibility, and the function of the CPC committee is to ensure that the plant director responsibility system will be implemented. Now that we have had some practical experience, we have some right to speak."

I asked him: "What do you feel most strongly about?"

He said: "After the implementation of the system, the plant director has a heavy burden. The party committee secretary has to imagine himself in the director's place and put forth the greatest possible effort to work in coordination with him. Now that administrative authority has been returned to the plant director, the party committee can concentrate on party work, which is a form of liberation."

I asked: "We've become accustomed to the old way of doing things and are unfamiliar with the new way, so we will have to experiment a bit. Our experience can be summed as follows: give a free hand, offer support, and provide coordination and supervision." He explained further that first of all this means giving the plant director a free hand in the enterprise's production, operations, and management and giving the director the authority to use people as he sees fit. If the director is to run an enterprise, he will naturally choose competent staff so that he can work effectively. If we trust the director, then we should trust his choice of personnel. By giving support, we mean enthusiastically supporting the director in promoting reform. The party committee should express its support for any correct reform measures proposed by the plant director. Cadres and staff who refuse

to follow the director's lead must be seriously criticized and educated in order to ensure the director's ability to perform his job. By coordination, we mean that the party committee has to coordinate the work of the party, the CYL, the union, and the plant director to educate everyone to have respect for and cooperate with the plant director. After implementing the plant director responsibility system, the party committee must, more than ever before, energetically take the initiative to arouse the enthusiasm of the workers and weave ideological work into the fabric of production and operational work.

Supervision is not a passive thing, nor does it require being in opposition to the director or playing the role of an "after-the-fact Zhuge Liang" or "biding your time to settle accounts," but rather calls for energetically making suggestions before policy decisions are made, supporting them once those decisions are made, and sharing responsibility when problems occur.

I asked: "What happens when a contradiction occurs between the plant director and party committee secretary?"

Plant director Zhang Qisheng [1728 1142 3932] said with a smile: "There are no major contradictions, but there will always be minor ones. As long as there is mutual support, it is not hard to resolve them. I have set up the following rules for myself: discuss all daily work or major policy decisions with the party committee; make sure to listen to the party committee when employing people and actively allow for their supervision; and at the same time, do ideological work together with the party committee. Division of labor does not mean divorce."

The party secretaries and plant directors of Shanghai's 10 steel mills said that there must be a complete set of regulations for the plant director system of responsibility, requiring a "system of guarantees," so that there are rules to follow in most circumstances and that everyone can perform his duties to the fullest. Problems require that people take care of them. It is the human factor that is decisive. Zhang Qisheng said that the most important thing for the plant director is to remain constantly aware of the national interest and handle correctly relations between the state, enterprise, and the individual. If a director fails in this, he is not competent and will find it difficult to fulfill his duties. Yang Yiping said that the party secretary must be familiar with the party's principles and policies and set an example by his own behavior. He must support the reform and oppose clinging to old ways. In particular, he cannot be picky about differences in authority among individuals. Without this ability, he cannot function well as a party committee secretary in these new times.

The 10 steel mills of Shanghai have competent party secretaries and directors. Therefore, they have been able to adhere to the plant director system of responsibility and consolidate and constantly improve it, bringing a new look to their enterprises.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON NEW APPROACHES TO IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 86 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Spur People To Boldly Probe and Innovate"]

[Excerpt] There can be two different trains of thought, and two different emphases in ideological-political work. One is on restraint, supervision, and control. It aims at making the object of work obey orders docilely and conform to convention. The other is on elicitation, guidance, and stimulation. It aims at allowing people to boldly explore, innovate, and pioneer forward toward a common goal. Though the two practices are not sharply antagonistic, they differ in emphasis and in thinking.

Reform has brought us into a historic realm which is new and uncharted. None of the reform items has any beaten track to follow or any mature experience to borrow from. We can only embark on a tough probe no predecessors have ever attempted, under the guidance of the fundamental tenets of Marxism. To attempt to work out an integral project at one stroke would be an impossible task. In the course of the probe, new situations and new problems emerge without end. It is only inevitable that, due to differences in cognition, people commit some mistakes in their work. People who make mistakes for all their efforts should be allowed to correct them. Difference in cognition, on the other hand, should be discussed in an atmosphere of relative calm, coordination and harmony, mutually complementing views that are imperfect and lopsided, eliminating erroneous, unpractical viewpoints, and making the most of the correct, practical opinions. We have to learn to move closer and closer to one another talking over different views, urging people to exchange views, to have courage enough to express their own opinions and accept those of others, to hold on to the truth, to correct mistakes, to seek mutual understanding and mutual trust. We should not label others at will as either "liberalized" or "ossified" or the like, which only serves to generate sharp opposition between different views. In short, we must try everything possible to prompt people, through public opinion, to boldly carry out exploration work to pave the way for the new productive forces. If we opened fire every day, people would keep a wary eye on a possible "yellow sign" warning signal ahead for fear of their brains being blown off. With such a frame of mind they would deem exploration a perilous path, and reform could not be carried on thoroughly.

While in our ideological-political work we stress the need to prompt people to boldly explore, we do not rule out the necessity to practice restraint, supervision, and control. Everything divides into two. In stressing a relaxed environment for public opinion, we have no need to dodge the ideological work front. The realm of ideology should have its solemn aspect.

For instance, the provision regarding a ban on pornographic videotapes and other pornographic products is rigorous, and the limits are also clearly defined. Such commodities that are harmful to the stability and unity, and the civilization and progress, of the whole of society should be banned strictly in accordance with law and discipline. As to people's thinking, however, we cannot shackle it. Be it academic thinking or political thinking, the entire train of thought is very dynamic. It is a pity that there was a rather long period of time when a number of things were turned upside down. When law and discipline violations and the guilty party were treated with a soft heart, when some different views on issues regarding theory, policy or ideology were taken too seriously. It was weak and lax in one respect and controlled too rigidly in the other. The two situations should have been inverted.

In order to encourage people to boldly explore toward the common goal of building socialism with a Chinese characteristic, the comrades on the ideological-political work front and especially the leading cadres of all ranks need to change the work habit of the past when hundreds responded to a single call, they need to learn to exercise appropriate guidance in the midst of endless comments and to choose and follow that which is good in the midst of multitudinous opinions. In the middle of the current of reform, surfacing together with dynamic thinking are these endless comments and multitudinous opinions.

This is a good sign, poles apart from the days when not even a crow or sparrow dared to utter a sound. In pondering the various problems arising from the reform, in putting forth various views, and in criticizing the unhealthy tendencies, they are embodying the spirit of being masters of the country. That shows clearly that our country is full of vitality, and that our national solidarity and internal strength are unprecedentedly strong. This is the situation we have been dreaming of for many years. Though not all of us share the same views, despite the slight unevenness, yet so long as the ideological-political work is guided properly, we can surely impel the whole nation to unite as one under the big umbrella of the government in our efforts to explore toward our common goal. Thus we will triumphantly complete the founding period of the reform.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY RECRUITMENT AT CHONGQING ACADEMY--Beijing ZHONGGUO GAODENG JIAOYU [CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION], a journal sponsored by the Ministry of Education, reports in Chinese in its 13 Jul 86 issue on pp 25-27 on CPC recruitment efforts at Southwest Academy of Political Science and Law in Chongqing. The Academy's CPC Committee carefully screens and evaluates candidates chosen from among new students and seeks to achieve the following goals: It hopes that by the end of the first year there will be new CPC members in every freshman class. By the end of the second year, party-member students should form a party cell in every class, and a CPC branch by the end of their third year. Special efforts should be made to recruit seniors before graduation. In this effort, the Committee claims to be acting in accordance with the resolution on party rectification adopted at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress. [Editorial Report]

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NORTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

NINGXIA PROMOTES CADRE TRAINING

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 86 p 1

[Article: "Ningxia Preliminarily Forms a Cadre Training Network"]

[Text] In recent years, Ningxia's cadre training has been fairly successful. The political, cultural and professional qualities of cadres throughout the region have made obvious improvements and the educational compositions of leading groups of various levels are growing ever more rational, thereby effectively promoting the fulfillment of the "four transformations" in the cadre ranks.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, Ningxia's party committees of all levels earnestly implemented the essence of the party Central Committee's and State Council's "Decision on the Education of Central Party and Government Organ Cadres" and "Decision on Achieving the Regularization of Party School Education," generally formulated cadre education plans, adopted a series of effective measures, and launched multiform, multilevel and multichannel training. Today, the region has resumed and established 20 regional, prefectural (municipal) and county party schools and 21 cadre and worker schools, set up special and training classes for cadres in 20 regular advanced and secondary technical schools, created a full- and part-time teaching contingent, and preliminarily formed a cadre training network. The various prefectural, municipal, county and district departments annually hold short-term training classes. By the end of last year, party schools of various levels, cadre schools of various types and training classes of various kinds trained a total of over 58,000 persons, constituting 52 percent of the total to be trained and including over 23,500 college and technical secondary school graduates and enrollees. The personnel trained included various trades and professions and covered over 60 specializations in science, engineering and liberal arts.

In cadre training, party committees of all levels throughout the region give priority to leaders, especially leading and reserve cadres at the county level and above. They have trained over 160 office and bureau cadres, constituting 29.3 percent of all cadres at these levels; over 2,400 county and departmental cadres, constituting 57 percent of all cadres at these levels; and over 12,000 section cadres, constituting 72.7 percent of all cadres at this level. More than half of the over 1,300 reserve cadres at county and departmental levels and above underwent training of various kinds.

To remedy the longstanding low educational level of minority cadres, the regional party committee adopted such special measures as establishing additional nationality classes and giving priority to minority cadres to study in colleges and schools of various types and party (cadre) schools of various levels inside and outside the region, and increased the proportion of minority cadres of technical secondary and senior middle school levels from the 47 percent of 1978 to today's 65 percent.

Through training, the vast number of cadres learned Marxist theories and scientific and cultural knowledge, enhanced their ability to analyze and solve problems and improved their skills.

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NORTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

HOU ZONGBIN ADDRESSES PROVINCIAL RECTIFICATION CONFERENCE

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Yan [1728 3601]: "Hou Zongbin Stresses Solid Achievements in His Address to a Provincial Rectification Conference for Organs Directly Subordinate to the Province"]

[Excerpt] On 2 August a conference was convened by the Leading Group for Party Rectification in Organs directly subordinate to the province.

In his address to the meeting, Hou Zongbin [0186 1350 6333], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, brought forth four concrete demands: 1) Have a correct understanding of the relationship between reform and party rectification to ensure smooth progress in the four modernizations construction. The guidelines relating to reform, opening to the outside, and stipulating the domestic economy must be firmly adhered to. All departments must put reform in top priority, support and protect it. In carrying out party rectification they must study, and discern the difference between the faults committed in the process of restructuring and the reform loopholes people avail themselves of. They must also allow to be put to test reform measures that lead to production development and which fosters economic effects. When it comes to investigating and settling breach-of-discipline issues, care must be exercised in handling cases involving the interests of the masses, which as a rule can be either treated with leniency or even overlooked. However, mistakes made by responsible leading cadres should be handled appropriately according to the rules specified. New situations and new problems arising from the current reform must be handled with great care. In the midst of the reform all advanced units should be disciplined law-abiding models. In the event of any breach of discipline, not only should their achievements be adequately recognized, but the breach of discipline issue should be settled according to the principle that all are equal before the law. On the other hand, those who make false accusations should be punished severely. 2) Deepen understanding, strengthen leadership, and handle big cases and serious cases without mercy. Wrong doings such as "interposing on behalf of the offender" should be firmly corrected. In handling big or serious cases we should not disregard them and criticize the interposer and, if the case is serious, investigate and prosecute the guilty party. At this juncture, all units, large or small, should make a serious study of all cases placed on file, putting stress on looking into grave economic crimes, serious law violations and dis-

cipline breaches, and formidable bureaucratism. In cases that cause heavy losses, economically or politically, to the State, all disciplinary, political, legal, and auditing departments should perform their functions and jointly settle the cases. The cases which have been looked into thoroughly should be grasped firmly, especially the 20 priority cases relating to the units subordinate to the province, which should be dealt with as soon as possible. 3) Check the unhealthy tendencies in every trade and profession in all earnestness. Leading cadres of all ranks, all trades and professions, all businesses and departments should further rectify the guiding ideology of their vocational work. They should handle the unhealthy tendencies in their trade the way they would redress a vital aspect of party discipline, by instituting programs and defining responsibilities. They must set aside August and September for looking into and correcting all existing internal problems through self-investigation and self-correction. Once self-investigated and self-corrected before 1 October, these problems will no longer be looked into. Any such problems checked out on or after 1 October, or any mistakes committed when the investigation is in progress, will be dealt with more severely. 4) Between now and the end of this year, the party committees and leading party groups of all units should, in conjunction with the party discipline rectification program, conduct a round of party spirit mass education activities for party members. It should take a flexible multiple form, closely linked to reality, and both positive and negative examples should be used for educating party members. It aims at heightening their consciousness to the point of being able to tell right from wrong, and fostering their political quality. We must strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally, and bring into full play the party's organizations at the grassroot level.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

NAVY COMMANDER ON NAVAL MODERNIZATION

Beijing JIANCHUAN ZHISHI [NAVAL AND MERCHANT SHIPS] in Chinese No 8, 8 Aug 86  
pp 2-3

[Article by special correspondent Shen Lijiang [3088 4539 3068]: "Chinese Navy Uses More and More Guided Missile, Electronic and Automatic Equipment--Navy Commander Liu Huaqing [0491 5478 3237] Talks about Navy Building"]

[Text] China is large country which stands towering like a giant on the western rim of the Pacific Ocean. It has a convoluted coastline of more than 18,000 km, more than 6,000 far-flung islands and more than 3.5 million sq km of natural sea areas. How is China's navy now? This is a question of universal concern and interest to people at home and abroad. On the eve of 1 August, Army Day, the correspondent called on the PLAN commander Liu Huaqing with this question in mind.

Commander Liu Huaqing is a native of Dawu County, Hebei Province, now aged 68. He took part in the 25,000-li Long March, studied abroad in the 1950's, and after the founding of New China, spent the greater part of his military life in the navy. After occupying leading posts in naval bases, academies, and scientific research departments, he became navy commander in 1982. Some foreign military commentators called him "the veteran equipment expert of the Chinese navy."

In a straightforward manner, the correspondent asked for a general description of the Chinese navy. Commander Liu said: The people's navy was built on a foundation of "poverty and blankness." Now it has developed from a single service arm, namely, surface vessels, into a composite service of many different arms and formed a three-dimensional system of joint military operations. Under water, there are various types of power driven submarines; on the water surface, there are destroyers, escort vessels, minesweepers, landing vessels, submarine chasers, escort boats, guided missile boats and torpedo boats of various models, and various auxiliary vessels engaged in supporting tasks in the coastal and distant seas; in the air, there is an air force consisting of bombers, attack planes, fighter planes, torpedo planes, antisubmarine planes, scouting and sea rescue planes, and many other types of aircraft; and on the coast, there are coastal units with guided missiles and shore batteries of different calibers. There are also marine units for both offensive and defensive purposes, and many other special technical and

security units. Now the people's navy is capable of either coordinating with the army and the air force in joint operations or undertaking independent air, surface, and underwater naval operations. As a fairly large naval force with three-dimensional offensive and defensive capabilities, it is now using more and more guided missile and electronic and automatic equipment. Gone are the days when "China has seas but no sea defense."

Since weaponry is an important material foundation of naval modernization, the correspondent requested Command Liu Huaqing to talk about the weaponry of China's navy. Liu Huaqing said: The people's navy is stepping up its modernization, and its weapons are continuing to be updated and improved. At present, the number of various major fighting vessels has increased 10-fold over the 1950's. The quality of weapons has been remarkably improved, and in navigation, the ships are using satellite navigation and other modern techniques. In the past, the vessels engaged in naval operations were mostly small gunboats using cannons and torpedoes; now there are guided missile destroyers, guided missile escort vessels, guided missile boats, and various types of submarines, all designed and manufactured by China itself. There are many types of guided missiles among the weapons used by the navy, namely, shore-to-ship guided missiles, ship-to-ship guided missiles, ship-to-air guided missiles, air-to-ship guided missiles, and air-to-air guided missiles. In October 1982, China successfully launched a submarine-based carrier rocket, signalling a new development in its equipment and technology, and the new strength of China's national defense and sea defense.

The constant modernization of equipment and technology has increased the Chinese navy's capacities for coordinated operations, swift reaction, rear security, and survival in naval operations. Commander Liu told the correspondent: Because of the backwardness of equipment and technology in the people's navy during the 1950's and 1960's, the scope of activities and radius of action of its submarines, surface vessels and air units were confined to areas along China's coast. The situation is now much different, and the scope of these activities have been extended to the sea areas of West Pacific and the Xisha and Nansha Island. In May 1980, to provide security for the launching of China's carrier rocket to the destined area in the Pacific Ocean, more than 30 ships of the people's naval formed a gigantic special composite service unit which cruised the Pacific Ocean for more than 30 days and covered more than 130,000 nautical miles without relying on supplies from any foreign port. All the important tasks at sea were satisfactorily completed. In November 1984, the J121 salvage-rescue ship and the "Xiangyang Red Cross" scientific research vessel sailed together into South Pacific and the South Pole for scientific research and set up the Changcheng Observatory in the South Pole. In January 1985, a guided missile destroyer and a large comprehensive supply vessel of the people's navy sailed together on friendly visits to Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. These facts show that China's navy has entered a new age of historical development.

The correspondent next asked Commander Liu to talk about the prospects of China's navy development by the turn of the century. The commander said: The navy has always been regarded in the world as a symbol of national strength, because it strongly reflects on the country's economic, industrial, scientific and technological level. Compared with those of some developed countries,

China's navy is still backward to a certain extent. According to the "Pact of UN Maritime Law" adopted at the Third World Conference on Maritime Law in 1982, the continental shelf and the special economic zones with a sea area of more than 3 million sq km--about one-third of China's land area--and with rich mineral, biological and energy resources, should be returned to China's jurisdiction. To strengthen China's sea defense, to safeguard its territorial integrity and legitimate maritime rights, and to create a safe and reliable environment for its socialist modernization, we must lose no time and exert every effort to build a strong and "worthy" naval force with a capacity for modern warfare. Specifically, the word "strong" should apply to the personnel, the organizational structure, and the equipment. On the basis of a certain quantity to be maintained, we should strive for quality, so that our fighting power can be greatly increased. The fighting power of an over-size navy cannot be very strong. To be "worthy," the navy must have a contingent of cadres who have high political consciousness, understand the advance military theories, and are of fairly high scientific and cultural levels; modern high-performance weapons and equipment; and an intensive training program and a rational system of organization. "Capacity for modern warfare" mainly refers to the fighting strength in all-out sea battles under modern conditions.

Before the end of the interview, Command Liu assertively said that the armed forces can be strong only provided the country is wealthy. However, he was confident that along with progress and acceleration of China's four modernizations, the grand objective of building a strong navy by the turn of the century can certainly be attained.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

REFORMS IN PLA AIRBORNE TROOP TRAINING

Taipei CHUNGKUNG YENCHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20, No 8, 15 Aug 86 pp 91-99

[Article by Ch'en Ming-chih [7115 2494 4249]: "Reforms in Training of Airborne Force of Chinese Communists' Air Force"]

[Text] I. Foreword

Airborne (paratroop) units possess the ability to move long distances, at high speed, and cross all obstacles on the ground. During offensive and defensive operations, they have unique superiorities that other service arms do not possess. In today's world, 70-odd countries deploy airborne units. The Chinese communists' "Airborne Force" was formed and established on 17 September 1950, and at that time was named the "1st Brigade, Air Force Ground Combat." At the beginning of the sixties, in accordance with Mao Zedong's call "build the Airborne Force like a model," the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee transferred an army unit to this brigade, changed its name to the "Airborne Force" with an army-level establishment, and put it under the command of the "Airborne Force Department" of the Chinese Communists' Air Force. Since its formation, this unit has always been handicapped by its form, namely, "the Airborne Force is an army plus parachutes." Therefore, in its system of organization, there exists the irrational phenomenon of "emphasizing infantry and deemphasizing special arms." The force is composed of three divisions, and each division is composed of three infantry regiments and one artillery regiment. In equipment, except for antiaircraft guns, the 12mm recoilless gun used as an antiaircraft gun, and artillerymen, the rest of the weapons are the light machinegun, heavy machinegun, mortar, and rocket launcher--all like those of an infantry division. In education and training, it follows the principles of infantry ground operations and is basically unable to suit the mode of modern airborne in-depth operations. In 1979, after the Deng faction came to power, to reform the training of the Airborne Force it set forth the practices of "learning from foreign armies" and of assiduously studying the strategic policy of "active defense." Centering on the key point of reform, the Airborne Force is studying the military thought and airborne operation experiences of advanced countries, analyzing and studying its own operational characteristics and roles, and gradually reforming airborne operation training and the content and system of airborne training.

## II. Relevant Theories on Developing Airborne Operations

The present increases in the carrying capacity and speed of the aircraft used to transport airborne forces have given modern warfare an irresistible mobility. All the principal countries of the world count on the operational idea of "great depth and a high third dimension." For example, the Russian Army's "mobile battle groups," "global reaction units," and "airborne shock brigades," and the American Army's "integrated air-ground operations" and "Rapid Deployment Force," all coordinate air military power and ground units. They make their targets of attack the enemy's strategic and campaign in-depth positions, and first of all shake the stability of the enemy's overall situation, causing the "indistinct battle line" to appear in modern warfare. There are three main types of this kind of operation." First, there is the pincer attack breakthrough, namely, when ground units are making a frontal attack, military air power (airborne and airlanding) makes a pincer attack from a flank or from the in-depth flank or rear; overlapping breakthrough, namely, in coordination with ground units, making at the same time staged attacks on the leading edge and the in-depth defenses of the enemy; and indirect breakthrough, namely, by suddenly attacking important targets in the enemy's defense in-depth, or seizing strategic points which must be contested, blocking the mobility of the enemy's military forces and lessening the pressure on the ground units. In actual operations, in the 1973 Fourth Middle East War, the 1982 Falklands War, and the 1984 Grenada War, Israel, Britain, and the United States respectively won their victories in these wars with airborne operations.

In the course of its "study of foreign armies," the communist army has been influenced in theory and reality by the abovementioned operations of foreign armies. Therefore, it has switched from the past emphasis on training in infantry-style operations to attaching importance to the theory of in-depth sudden attacks, and has proceeded to the next step of formulating the strategic policy of "active defense" for the future in which the airborne operation mode is dominant. Next, with the improvement of the "five operational capabilities" (coordinated operations capability, rapid reaction capability, electronic countermeasures capability, field survival capability, and logistics support capability) as the key point, it has called for the study of reforms in airborne operations.

### A. The Communist Army's Applied Research on the Airborne Force

1. When the communist army's Airborne Force discovers an advantageous moment to destroy the enemy, it advocates airborne operations in the enemy's tactical or campaign shallow or in-depth areas to capture important targets that cut the enemy's line of retreat or block reinforcing units, and, in coordination with units at the front, create a pincer attack in front and rear.
2. After the enemy army has broken through the first line of defensive positions or made a nuclear attack, the communist army's Airborne Force advocates airborne operations in the direction of the enemy's advance and in the vicinity of the nuclear breach to delay the enemy's movement in order to

insure that the main-force units on the ground have ample time to move out and reorganize a new defensive line and continue to resist the enemy.

3. When the enemy army penetrates into the defense in-depth area, the front is lengthened, and the rear is far and remote. The communist army's Airborne Force advocates airborne operations against the enemy's rear, making sudden attacks on the enemy army's command organization, communication lines, guided missile and nuclear weapon launch positions, and other important targets.

4. Airborne forces have great mobility and shock effect. The opportune moment for an airborne operation often coincides with the launching of an attack at the front, so as to confront the defending units with an operational situation. The first-line units of the defending side not only find it difficult to concentrate superior forces to deal with the attacking side's airborne units, but even the reserve forces that originally had the mission of opposing airborne operations cannot, because of the poor mobility of their equipment or because they are supporting the first-line units' resistance to the enemy, timely carry out their antiairborne mission. Therefor, the communist army advocates that the "Airborne Force," which has comparatively good mobility, oppose the enemy's airborne units.

5. Operations to reinforce units holding fast to strategic points.

#### B. Reform of Airborne Operations Theory

1. Capability for coordinated operations: Because the communist army's Airborne Force has been deeply influenced by the idea that an "airborne force is an army plus parachutes," like the army units, there exists in it the phenomena of "overestimating infantry and underestimating special arms," "overestimating techniques and underestimating tactics," and "overestimating separate operations training and underestimating coordination training." In 1983, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee set forth the demand to improve the "five operational capabilities," the focus of which was to strengthen the training in "coordinated operations." A "coordinated operation" means an operation in which "all branches and arms of the service and the military, under unified organization and command, closely cooperate and coordinate as one to jointly complete a mission." (1) (JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY--LAD] 8 Apr 84 p 1 "Strive to Improve Our Army's Field Survivability.") The preparation for an airborne operation and the links in it are complex. The stages of concentrating forces, awaiting transport, loading, being airborne, and being airdropped all require ground-to-ground, air-to-ground, and air-to-air links by all service arms to maintain close coordination before the mission can be accomplished. Therefore, the communist army's Airborne Force, based on the principles of "coordinated operations," attaches importance to coordinated operations by the transport air arm, the air arm, the supporting artillery, the units at the front, and all service arms:

a. Coordination between the Airborne Force and the transport air arm: The air transport units are the means of delivering the airborne units to the war zone. There are three keys to the cordination between these two service arms. The first is correct airborne guidance so that the transport units are able to

arrive precisely at the point in the air above the landing area. The communist army's Airborne Force formerly adopted the pattern of having a guidance fendui make a landing in advance and then provide guidance within the landing area. In this way the airborne intent was easily revealed, and the enemy could timely complete his antiairborne preparations. Also, the guidance fendui could be attacked by the enemy and lose its guidance capability. Therefore, the communist army's Airborne Force now advocates the adoption of many forms of airborne guidance. The methods are: "when there are ground markings of armed forces in the enemy's rear there is no need to provide guidance"; "following the reconnaissance fendui the guidance fendui slips into the landing area ahead of time from the ground and provides guidance"; "the guidance fendui makes an advance landing, and from a place 5 to 10 km distant from the landing area provides guidance from outside the area": and "at night the guidance fendui using aerofoil parachutes lands at a place 5 to 10 km in the windward direction of the target, and in a concealed manner slips into the predetermined landing area and provides guidance."

The second key is to shorten the time that the airborne operation is sustained in order to increase the element of surprise. The air transport units possess the characteristics of long-range, fast transport, and are the main forces for air transport and air drops in airborne operations. The length of time that an airborne operation is sustained decides the type of airborne operation (strategic, campaign, tactical, or special). With its military forces, materiel, and number of airborne waves, a strategic airborne operation is sustained for the longest time, and next in order are campaign, tactical, and special airborne operations. The length of time that it is sustained is the basis for the strength of the surprise element in an airborne operation. The shorter the time that it is sustained, the shorter the time that the enemy has to prepare his antiairborne operation, and the greater its surprise and stability. Therefore, based on the scale of the airborne operation, the number of landing areas, the terrain conditions in the landing areas, and the level of the transport air arm, the communist army's Airborne Force has adopted the pattern of increasing the size of its formations and entering the landing zone by many air routes, in order to shorten the time that the various types of airborne operations are sustained.

The third key is to shorten the time that the troops are in the air landing by parachute in order to reduce their casualties from enemy fire. The optimum method to shorten the time that they are in the air is to lower the altitude at which they make their parachute jumps. The minimum safe altitude for the communist army's Airborne Force to open its parachutes is 150 meters, and that of its spare parachute is 100 meters. The transport aircraft fly at a speed of 300 kilometers per hour. Therefore, the parachute jump altitude has been set at 300 to 400 meters.

b. Coordination between the Airborne Force and the supporting artillery: The regiment- and battalion-scale tactical airborne operation and landing area of the communist army's Airborne Force are selected to be within the effective range of the artillery of ground units. To enable the artillery to coordinate swiftly and accurately with the requirements of an Airborne Force operation, an operational group of the artillery accompanies the airborne units and relays information back to the artillery on the operational situation of the

Airborne Force. When the Airborne Force penetrates into the enemy's hinterland to carry out a campaign of strategic airborne operations, it will be far out of the range of ground artillery. The communist army's Airborne Force, therefore, advocates that the necessary number of artillery pieces be transported by air to support the airborne operation and increase its firepower. Therefore, the Airborne Force sends operational groups to its supporting artillery.

c. Coordination between the Airborne Force and the supporting air arm: Bombing by Air Force warplanes of the landing area is an important condition for accomplishing the attack mission of the airborne units. To insure close coordination between these two service arms, the communist army's Airborne Force advocates the setting up of target guidance fendui charged with the mission of calling up and guiding the bombing and strafing of the assault planes, fighter planes, and bombers of the air arm.

d. Coordination between the Airborne Force and the units at the front: The most advantageous moment for an airborne operation is just slightly before or at the same time as the units at the front are making an attack, so that the enemy army finds itself involved in operations on two sides, thereby helping the units at the front to accomplish their goal of attacking and annihilating the enemy. Therefore, the communist army's Airborne Force coordinates with the frontal operations of the ground units, and advocates that the Airborne Force send airborne operation groups to the units at the front to help them lead and command the Airborne Force.

B. Rapid Reaction Capability: the communist army's Airborne Force is still constrained by the categories of army operational thinking, and is unable to train based on the airborne units' characteristics of mobility and speed. For example, there are 20 to 30 types of training exercise dispatches in which there is no record that in more than 2 years' time the organization cadres have taken parachute training. In 1983, the communist army made "rapid reaction capability" a requirement for training. This was defined as "having two aspects. One aspect is that the core of rapid reaction is the word 'fast.' This not only includes fast information, fast decision-making, fast refitting and reorganization, and fast closing with the enemy and maneuver, but also includes fast capture of positions, fast construction of defense works just before the battle, and fast changes in tactical measures and operational forms." The other aspect is that the key to rapid reaction capability is the achievement of automated command, the display of the power of the whole, and the effective curbing of the enemy's movement. (2) (LAD 10 Apr 84 p 1 "Strive To Improve Our Army's Capability for Fast Reaction") To enhance this capability, the communist army's Airborne Force has set out the following principles of reform:

1. Accurately grasping the war situation and rapidly transmitting information. The strength or weakness of the advance warning capability is the basis on which it is decided whether the units are in a state to swiftly meet the enemy. Therefore, the communist army's Airborne Force advocates the organizing of various means of reconnaissance and the perfecting of signal communications equipment between units at all levels and the transport air arm, so as to timely find out the enemy's situation, his intent in starting a

war, and the main direction of his operations. By this means the opportune moment, region, and targets to be attacked in an airborne operation are selected.

2. Unified command: On the basis of the situation in coordination with an airborne operation, what is involved is coordination between the Airborne Force and the transport arm, and the supporting operation by the assault planes, fighter planes, and bombers of the air arm. It also involves providing information on the fighter dispatching, enemy situation, terrain, and weather in the different war zones. In a ground battle, it also involves coordination with units on the front and local armed forces. Its command levels and coordinated movements are extremely complex. Therefore, the communist army's Airborne Force advocates the reduction in the number of command levels in an airborne operation, and that the senior officers of combined arms units exercise unified command. In the preparations for an airborne battle and in the stages of the airborne operation, the senior officers of the combined arms units exercise command through the Air Force's command post. When an action cuts across war zones, the command and coordination of each war zone is still organized in a unified manner by the Air Force command post. During a ground battle, the Airborne Force is put under the direct command of the senior officer of the combined arms units.

3. Training conducted by differentiation of mission: Because the mainland's territory is vast, each war zone has its own characteristics in terrain, climate, environment, and condition of the people. The communist army's Airborne Force advocates that its units take on the airborne operation mission in different war zones. On this basis, it sends units to the predetermined war zone for which it is responsible to become familiar with the natural and human environments, to become familiar with the mission of the units there and the methods of coordinating the operations of the two sides, and to find out the position and state of the airfields that can be provided for the Airborne Force's use and the air routes and ranges to reach the area of operations. It also formulates action plans and organizes the units to practice landings in the predetermined war zones.

C. Logistics Support Capability: The communist army's cadres have always had two mistaken ideas about logistics work. "One mistaken idea is to consider logistics management to be concerned with eating, drinking, urinating, defecating, and sleeping, that once seen everybody understands it and once done everybody can do it, and that there is nothing scientific about it." "The other mistaken idea is that of only seeing logistics as a support force, and not seeing that logistics itself is also a kind of combat effectiveness." (3) (LAD 16 Apr 84 p 1 "Strive To Improve Our Army's Logistics Support Capability.") Therefore, to improve the "logistics support capability," the communist army is reforming the abovementioned malpractices. "Logistics support capability" means "a synthesis of the factors of the political and ideological consciousness of logistics personnel, the level of modern science and technology, the art of logistics command and organization, the capability in specialized skills, the supply system, the materiel and equipment, the degree of all the support preparation for switching from a peacetime to a wartime footing, and the defense and operational capability of the rear area."(4) (Ibid 3) Because an airborne operation is far from the units at the

front, it is an operation that crosses into the enemy's rear, and it has no direct rear to act as a prop; also, because at the same time the weapons, ammunition, and other equipment airdropped by the units that followup an airborne operation are dispersed and scattered, the process of collecting them is complex. Therefore, the enemy's antiairborne units make the logistics units of the airborne units the main target of attack. Therefore, based on its own characteristics, the communist army's Airborne Force has set out the following principles for reform:

1. Strengthen logistics defense forces: The depth of an airborne operation is shallow, and the rear deployment zone is in direct contact with the enemy army. In a regiment-level airborne unit of the communist army, the defensive logistics unit that is responsible for collecting the airborne materiel, guarding what is airdropped, and taking care of the ammunition on the ground only consists of a little over 160 men, and they are unable to give consideration at the same time to the above three tasks. Therefore, the Airborne Force advocates the retention of the original service unit and adding to it an infantry platoon, an engineer and antichemical warfare squad, and other specialized fengui, and also, modeling itself on Soviet Russia, fitting vehicles with antiaircraft machineguns and antitank weapons, in order to deal with the enemy's antiairborne units, which are mainly composed of helicopters and mechanized units.
2. Rational deployment: Under normal circumstances, the logistics unit of a regiment-level airborne unit of the communist army deploys in echelon and is set up in battle formation in a rear deployment zone about 3 km from the forward edge, forming a ring-shaped defense of the core position with an area of about 2 to 4 sq km. From now on, when using the rear area force, the communist army's Airborne Force will put particular stress on controlling a certain mobile force, which will have a military strength of about one-fourth of that of the rear area force. At the same time there will be a division into two to three security areas, in each of which there will be a battle grouping to carry out the "three attacks and three defenses," and each defense sector and lookout direction will be stipulated, so as to oppose the "three broadaxes" (airborne troops, tanks, and helicopters) of the enemy's antiairborne units.
3. Combining defense and attack with defense made primary: The logistics defense force in an airborne operation of the communist army is weak, and it really is unable to take the initiative to attack the enemy army's antiairborne units. Also, it is unable to achieve dominance on the battlefield, and the logistics zone is easily hit by air raids. Therefore, it is advocated that for the logistics support of an airborne operation "defense and attack be combined, with defense made primary," and its characteristics are:

First, after the airborne troops assemble and arrive at the deployment area, they need to select conditions for swiftly building simple and easy, concealed defense works and warehouses, with naturally concealed sites such as ridges, caves, tunnels, and woods.

Second, when logistics units are attacked by nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, they must immediately inform the "basic command post" and dispatch "three defenses" rescue and rush-repair parties to do decontamination work.

Third, defense facilities must be built in areas where the enemy army could mount an airborne operation or charge into with its tanks. When the enemy army attacks the rear area, support needs to be sought from the "basic command post."

D. Field Survivability: The threats to the survival of armed forces on the battlefield come from no more than two quarters: one is nature's threat, namely, precipitous terrain and bitter weather; the other is the enemy's threat, namely, the other side's weapons. The communist army's definition of "field survivability" is "the ability of armed forces in a dangerous natural environment and under heavy enemy fire attacks to restore effectively and quickly their combat power." (5) (LAD 26 Apr 84 p 1 "Strive To Improve Our Army's Field Survivability.") The airborne operation site of the communist army's Airborne Force is decided provisionally on the basis of the war situation, and is even fixed deep within the enemy's area. This situation is unlike that of the ground units, which have specially designated battlefields and which can carry out exercises in advance suited to the various environments of the war zones. In addition, the communist army's Airborne Force lacks the capability for long-distance reconnaissance, and in wartime it is unable to clearly get information about the weather, terrain, and enemy situation at the landing areas. Therefore, it stresses the strengthening of field survival training, the content of which includes stamina training, training in airborne operations in complex terrain, and training in airborne operations in foul weather, so that its airborne units can adapt to the natural environment in the various kinds of war zones.

E. Electronic Countermeasures Capability: By "electronic measures" is meant the electromagnetic struggle waged by the opposing sides with the relevant equipment and instruments. On the one hand, it means the adoption of electronic countermeasures reconnaissance, the application of electronic jamming, and the use of neutralizing and destructive measures to wreck the normal functioning of the other side's electronic equipment, so as to put his command, control, and communications out of order. On the other hand, it means taking defensive measures such as anti-electronic countermeasures reconnaissance, anti-electronic jamming, and anticontrol to insure that the efficiency of one's own electronic equipment can be used normally." (6) (LAD 21 Apr 84 p 1 "Strive To Improve Our Army's Electronic Countermeasures Capability") Nowadays, in making an airborne operation, one must first have ground and ship-based jammers emit clutter to cover up the echoes of aircraft, so that the defending units find it hard to distinguish targets on the radar fluorescent screen. Second, on the air transport route or in the air above the landing area put jammers, or one or two jamming aircraft throw out a large number of metalfoil strips or electromagnetic waves, thereby forming a jamming corridor to cover the movements of the aircraft group. In addition, during an operation, airborne units must use quite a lot of electronic equipment, radio equipment and radio navigation equipment, to establish communications and liaison with the guidance fendui and the units attacking at the front and to maintain air-ground coordination. Therefore, the airborne units must be able

to resist the enemy's electronic jamming. At the present stage, the communist army pays particular attention to the electronic countermeasures capability of the units under the Air Force of the former "Wuhan Military Region," and engages in training in such topics as "active jamming" and "passive jamming" in order to coordinate airborne operations.

### III. Making Reforms in the System and Content of Training

Since its founding the communist army has adopted the principle of "first replenishing and then training" in which the units' training as a whole and the recruit training are merged into one system, with the result that the training content does not meet the demands of actual combat. In 1978, after the Deng faction came to power, it set forth the policy of "reforming the system and content of training" in an attempt to separate unit training from recruit training, so that the units, not having to give consideration at the same time to recruit training, could concentrate their attention on reforming the content of operational training. The recruit training units could also, under the overall planning of the cadres and personnel in the formal establishment, go all out in training recruits, thereby laying a foundation for future tactical and combined arms training.

#### A. Reform of the Recruit Training System

Because the communist army lacked organizations with specific responsibility for recruit training, after recruits had completed their callup and enlistment procedures, they were assigned to units by the military affairs departments of the "military regions." Without yet having any basic training, the recruits were mixed in with the veteran soldiers in companies to receive training in which "several generations gathered in the same hall" and there was "cooking in one pot" and "arbitrary uniformity." This not only caused the malpractice of the "training content being the same old stuff year after year, and the training content being shallow year after year" and "the veteran soldiers not eating their fill while the recruits could not eat at all," but even more importantly led to the appearance in the training plans for the units as a whole of the phenomena of "one-sided training, coarse training, "'leaky' training, and repetitive training," and the training remained in a low-level cycle of firing, bayonet, and grenade-throwing practice. To reform this problem, in 1978 the communist army came up with the idea of "separate training for recruits and veteran soldiers," but because the communist army was then in the growing stage, the units formulated recruit training methods of their own devising, of which there were three kinds: the first was that the large military regions "divided up the work at fixed points" in a uniform fashion and set up division-level "recruit training bases"; the second was that every division drew out an infantry regiment and reformed it into a "recruit training regiment"; and the third was that one of the three battalions under a regiment was organized into a "recruit training battalion." (7)(LAD 2 Mar 79) Because of the "mixed training of recruits and veteran soldiers," the communist army's Airborne Force itself stopped at the level of training "in firing by the numbers and practicing squad tactics." Therefore, in coordination with the communist army's demand for reform of the recruit training system, it adopted the second method, and in March 1979 formed "recruit training regiments." Its practice is to retain the system of

organization of a regiment and the cadres, squad leaders, mess personnel, and four types of company personnel (clerks and concurrently ordnance personnel, communication personnel, medical personnel, and supply personnel), and to put the veteran soldiers of their regiments into other regiments while concentrating the recruits of other regiments in the "recruit training regiment" for training.(8) (LAD 30 Aug 79) The method puts into practice the "escalated training system" according to service arm, speciality, and weapon groups. As an example, in an artillery fendui, recruits are divided into two large groups: "second, third, and fourth gunners" and "gun layer." All those who through examinations attain an excellent standard for second through fourth gunners are escalated to the "gun layer group" for training. (9) (LAD 18 Dec 80)

In 1984, drawing on the experience of foreign armies in recruit training," at an "all-army military training work conference," the communist army set forth the principle of "first training and then replenishing," and ordered the Wuhan, Beijing, and Kunming military regions to set up "recruit training divisions" and do experimental-point work in them. Again, based on the abovementioned principle, the communist army's Airborne Force in the last part of November in the same year set up "recruit training centers" in its division-level units. Focusing on the problem that in the "recruit training regiments" the training content was not systematic, the training patterns were not standard, and the examination standards were not uniform, and incorporating the experiences of the former "Wuhan Military Region" and the "Xinyang Army School," it made certain adjustments in its original training groupings, training content, and examination patterns. (10) (LAD 3 Jan 85)

1. Adjustment of the training groupings: On the basis of the professional sections, it formed 13 teaching and research sections, and the "centers" made unified arrangements for the education and training plan, so that the training content, time, and standards were made uniform.

2. Increase in the training content: Besides the training in individual weapon operation and individual-soldier tactical movements, the recruits are required to learn the skills of using all types of weapons at the squad level and below and the tactical skills of several service arms.

3. Reform of the examination pattern: After recruits have had 10 months of training, they are examined one by one. Those who qualify are given "qualification certificates" and assigned to regiments composed of veteran soldiers; those who fail to qualify remain at the "center" to take makeup training.

After the communist army had tried to find out experiences in recruit training for the abovementioned 7 years, the CPC Central Committee's "Military Commission" in 1985 formally decided to organize in army units "recruit coaching regiments," the specific practices of which are roughly: One organic regiment or training unit in a division-level unit is reorganized and established in accordance with "school" standards. A number of cadres and backbone elements and some equipment are taken from the division in a uniform manner and put into the coaching regiment. Training sites and teaching equipment are increased. In accordance with the General Staff Department's

"Outline for Recruit training in Army Coaching Regiments," the Airborne Force has formulated its own teaching plan. The training time is 4 months, after which the recruits are put in the units. The Airborne Force, which is under the Air Force, in October 1986, in accordance with the abovementioned practices of the Army's coaching regiments and the policy of streamlining and reorganization, made its original three airborne divisions into brigade-level units, and it deactivated the regiment-level "recruit training centers" and formed a "recruit coaching brigade." Its specific practices are as follows: (11) (LAD 20 Mar 86)

a. Adjustment of the establishment, functions, and core structure: First, in this brigade there are set up common topics and an audio-visual teaching and research section. In accordance with the "school" policy, there is a functional division of work into a training department, political department, and academy affairs department--all in imitation of the regular academiees. The rights and responsibilities of the headquarters, political and logistics organizations are made clear. The headquarters is put in charge of teaching and is responsible for the recruit training plans of seven service arms; the political department is put in charge of the basic political teaching for recruits; and the logistics department is put in charge of teaching support. Second, cadres have been taken from the army and division training units and from the recruit training centers and put into the "coaching brigade."

b. Formulation of the teaching content structure: The communist army's Airborne Force first decided that a qualified airborne force must possess the three qualities of knowledge, basic skills, and field operation capability. Later it vested the different training content with the three quality structures. The knowledge structure includes common knowledge about politics and law, common knowledge about weapons, knowledge about science and technology, knowledge and theory about individual-soldier tactics, and specialized basic theory. The basic skills structure includes formation movements, firing, grenade throwing, capturing enemy personnel for intelligence purposes, and parachute jumping. The field operations capability structure includes military sports, wartime rescue, on-the-spot map reading, psychological training, and survival knowledge.

c. Increase in equipment: To make its training sites attain the standards of "automation, electrification, and simulation," the communist army's Airborne Force has extended its comprehensive training grounds for individual-soldier techniques and tactics, stamina norm training grounds, artillery training grounds, closed-circuit television systems, signal corps driving simulation training grounds, vehicle driving simulation training grounds, infantry firing training simulation sections, and psychological training simulation sections.

d. Quantitative development and directional assignments: The communist army's Airborne Force operates on the basis of the principle of "combining the training and use of soldiers." It demands that the "coaching brigade" look at the units' needs for personnel of all service arms, and decide the number of recruits to be trained for all service arms. After being trained they are assigned by the recruit regiment commander to the related units. To achieve this goal, the brigade practices three methods of dividing forces: the first

method is the initial division by roll call; the second method is a sifting and detailed division in accordance with the needs for personnel of specialized service arms; and the third method is making "assignments geared to the needs of the job" when the recruit training is finished.

#### B. Reform of the Units' Training Content

Since Li Lianghui [2621 5328 6540] became the commander of the 15th Army of the communist army's Airborne Force in 1983, he has, based upon the operational mission of the Airborne Force and the "five operational capabilities," formulated the "Plan for Short-Term Construction of the Airborne Force" to reform the training of airborne units, and the plan has become a model publicized throughout the communist army. The plan's reforms include: 1) improving the operational capability of the Airborne Force by means of training exercises; 2) improving its establishment and equipment; and 3) requiring cadres to study science and culture.

1. Improving the units' operational capability by means of training exercises: In the past several years, based on its operational missions, the communist army's Airborne Force has staged training exercises on various topics. In June 1983 there was the "counterassault operation" exercise; in June 1984, there was the "emergency expanded establishment fast mobility" exercise; in June 1984 there was the "field survival" exercise in a mountainous area of Hubei; in July 1984, there was the exercise in "making demolition raids in the enemy's rear"; in August 1984, there was the "antiairborne" exercise; in September 1984, there was the "field survival" exercise in a mountainous area of Hubei; and in March 1986, there was the exercise in "field survival in cold areas." Of them we take the "counterassault operation" exercise in June 1983 (the largest-scale airborne operation since the founding of the army), the "field survival" exercise in June 1984 (the first), and the "cold area field survival" exercise in March 1986 (the first):

a. The "counterassault operations" exercise in June 1985: The site of the exercise was a certain mountainous area in Hubei. Taking part in it were the infantry, artillery, signal corps, and antichemical warfare corps of the Airborne Force and fighter planes, assault planes, bombers, transport planes, and helicopters of the air arm. The form of the exercise was a two-sided confrontation of attack and defense between Red and Blue forces. Its main purpose was to strengthen capability of all service arms of the Air Force to coordinate in an operation with the Airborne Force. In the exercise fighters of the air arm first obtained control of the air over the landing zone. Then assault planes and bombers eliminated the enemy's military forces at the landing site. Subsequently, transport planes and helicopters of the air arm carrying airborne personnel, ammunition, and materiel carried out an airborne advance air-landing assault and a materiel air drop. Then, with the enhanced capability for combined operations of all service arms in the Airborne Force, particularly infantry-artillery coordination, the enemy's antiairborne forces, mainly composed of tanks, were resisted. (12) (LAD 7 Jun 83)

b. The "field survival" exercise in June 1984: This was the first "field survival" exercise. Its site was the Dahong Mountain in Hubei. The focus of

the exercise was on practicing various training topics in field survival and various survival skills. The former consisted of a 400-meter low altitude "three no's" (no ground guidance, no weather data, and no ground marker displays) airborne operation, passing through forests, swimming across rivers fully armed, forced march in a mountainous area with heavy packs, making demolition raids, destroying communications and airfields, continually shifting forces, concealing, and countering enemy reconnaissance. The latter consisted of enduring hunger and thirst, preparing food in the field, getting materials on the spot to the bivouac deep in mountains, climbing, guarding against sickness and insect pests, collecting edible food, finding water, catching birds and animals for food, judging directions, and making fire by means of batteries, blasting fuses, and signal flares. (13) (LAD 18 Jun 84)

c. The "cold area field survival exercise" in March 1986: The three operational brigades of the communist army's Airborne Force are separately stationed in Hubei and Henan provinces. Therefore, because of geographical and environmental factors, more stress is placed on "field survival" training in extremely hot weather. In March 1986, it conducted its first "cold area field survival" exercise. A total of 10 transport planes set out from the interior and flew to the Greater Xing'an Mountains, where the airborne units carried out at the landing area 13 training topics, including assembly of the units, forced marches on snow-covered ground, successive attack tactical exercises, and food preparation in snow-covered ground. (14) (LAD 14 Mar 86)

2. Improvement of establishment and equipment: To improve its "coordinated operations capability," "rapid reaction" capability," "logistics support capability," and "field survivability," the communist army's Airborne Force has taken measures to reform its establishment and equipment.

a. Increase in the military power of special arms: In former days this force "overemphasized infantry and underemphasized special arms," and therefore a situation was produced in which the military power of the special arms was weak and the number of infantry was large. Its establishment and equipment could not meet the demands of coordinated operations training. Therefore, it formulated a "plan for readjusting the equipment and establishment," which cut down and merged overlapping units in its organizations, reduced the number of personnel and weapons in its infantry companies, and increased the number of specialized technical units such as artillery, signal, and antichemical warfare. At present the service arms in the communist army's Airborne Force include infantry, artillery, signal, engineer, and antichemical warfare. It has formed a "simulated enemy paratroop regiment," a "simulated enemy tactical antiairborne battalion," a "night demolition raid air special operation fendui," and other task-grouped units, which, with the other units of the communist army's Airborne Force, carry out in turns two-sided "airborne and antiairborne" simulation training exercises.

b. Importance attached to command automation: Command automation is an important link in the communist army's "rapid reaction capability." Therefore, in October 1984 the communist army's Airborne Force formulated a "command automation plan," purchased microcomputers and radio station equipment, and set up classes to train cadres in the use of microcomputers.

At present the army- and brigade-level headquarters of this force have computer long-range mutual communication systems, medium-range wired and wireless voice communication systems, short-range multichannel hand-held radio telephone systems, and operation work data automation and control systems.(15) (KONGJUN BAO 8 Jun 85)

c. Development of logistics equipment: To shorten the time of collecting airdropped materiel at the landing area, it has successfully developed containers, container cables, airdropped materiel locators, medical and surgical kits, and "four-proof, dual-purpose" (mosquito-proof, snake-proof, rain proof, moisture-proof, tent-making, and stretcher-making) paratroop suspensions.

d. Parachute jump training equipment: At present the parachute jump training topics of this force have been increased to unarmed, fully-armed, double-parachute opening, night, low-altitude, heavy load, and varied terrain parachute jumps. To deal properly with the abovementioned training demands, it has developed a "three-meter scaffold" to replace the "one-meter platform" in recruit training, so as to lay a foundation in parachute jump training. In addition, it has made an aerofoil parachute that can glide for several kilometers in order to carry out special airborne training.

3. Improvement of cadre quality: In the past several years, the communist army has set forth the policy of having cadres study science and culture in order to improve the quality of the cadres, and the communist army's Airborne Force has taken the following measures. (16) (LAD 19 Mar 83)

a. Running education training units: Young and middle-aged cadres who have a fairly low educational level are temporarily taken from their posts to engage in study.

b. Strengthening in-service, sparetime study: "Party committees" at all levels of its subordinate units have set up sparetime universities and sparetime schools. In their spare time, cadres who have graduated from junior middle school or senior middle school, or who have the equivalent of a senior middle school education, study in the abovementioned schools.

c. Starting "guaranteed teaching and studying" activities: Guidance in self-study has been strengthened for cadres who are busy with their professional work.

d. Studying in local academies: Cadres with a senior middle school education are selected. After passing an examination given by the Ministry of Aeronautics Industry, they study high-altitude lifesaving specialities at the Nanjing Aeronautics College. (17) (LAD 18 Feb 85)

#### IV. Difficult Problems Facing the Communist Army's Airborne Force

##### A. It is Hard to Accomplish the Airborne Operational Mission

An airborne operation must, first of all, be coordinated with a ground operation. Therefore, the time of the landing must be chosen so as to be the

most suitable moment for starting the ground operation. It must also be in the main direction of the ground operation, and the landing area must be in the vicinity of the target of assault and be on terrain convenient for concentrating forces. Second, it is limited by air transport and the weather and environment in the operational area, and the time when control of the air has been achieved--all of which affect the operation. Third, because the carrying capability of the means of air transport is limited and the operational site is in the enemy's rear, it is impossible to effectively get enough logistics supplies. Therefore, there is no major country that does not pay attention to the abovementioned limiting factors. and does not strengthen communications between airborne forces and friendly forces, long-range reconnaissance capability, loading capacity of the means of air transport, firepower, and other operational functions. But, looking at the present situation, because of the backward state of its equipment, objectively and subjectively the communist army's Airborne Force will be unable to be equal to the operational forms of the future.

Subjectively, first of all this force does not yet possess a long-range reconnaissance capability. In wartime it will be unable to ascertain swiftly and accurately the rear area or in-depth disposition of the enemy army that is the so-called "object of future operations" and make them the basis for operations in its landing area. Second, its electronic communications equipment is far inferior to that of the Russian armed forces and is easily discovered or jammed, thereby disrupting the coordination between the Airborne Force and other units and preventing the airborne operation from proceeding smoothly. Third, the maximum weight of bulk materiel that can be carried by the main means of transport--the "Yun-8" aircraft--is 50 tons, and the maximum weight of container-sized materiel that it can carry is 60 tons. The maximum weight of objects it can air drop is 7,400 kg, and the maximum number of paratroops it can carry is 58. The carrying capacity of the largest helicopter used as a means of airmobile transport--the Mi-6--is 20 tons. The airborne and airlanding materiel of this force is limited to personnel and to trucks, recoilless guns, the 85mm cannon, and other light or medium nonmechanized weapons and equipment. Therefore, after a landing is made, its firepower and mobility is limited. It is reckoned that the battle firing rate of its military power can only be maintained for 5 to 7 hours. In addition, after the landing, the weapons, equipment, and materiel airdropped along with the units are scattered over a wide area, and the capability for collecting them is poor. For example, on the regiment-level scale, the time needed to complete the collection is as long as 2.5 hours. With this rate of firepower and materiel collection, it will be unable to resist the antiairborne units, mainly composed of tanks and armed helicopters, of the so-called "enemy army."

Objectively, the object of the communist army's future operations has a strong capability to protect its rear area or in-depth strategic points. In addition, it possesses a three-dimensional reconnaissance network that combines long and short ranges, air and ground; not only can it swiftly detect the other side's airborne intent and make preparations in advance, but at the same time it can achieve control of the air with its advanced warplanes. Therefore, in a future war, the communist army's Airborne Force will be unable to achieve the surprise and concealment needed in an airborne operation. Also, with its backward airplanes, it will be unable to achieve control of the

air in its air route zone and landing area. Also, the airborne units at their area of departure or along the air route zone will be destroyed by the other side's nuclear weapons or its warplanes and air defense weapons.

#### B. It Will Be Difficult To Achieve Its Antiairborne Operation Mission

At present Soviet Russia's main force for airborne operations is the "airborne shock brigade," which is composed of two airborne shock battalions, two paratroop shock battalions, and one howitzer battalion. It is equipped with 80 paratroop combat vehicles (each fitted with one 73mm cannon, one 6.62mm machinegun, and antitank missiles) and ACY-85 airborne self-propelled guns (each a 152mm gun), and also with antitank missiles, 122mm howitzers, multibarrel rocket-launchers, and mortars. The communist army airborne brigade is composed of two airborne infantry battalions and one artillery battalion. It is equipped with 120mm mortars, multibarreled rocket-launchers, and antitank missiles. It will be unable to undertake the operational mission of opposing Soviet Russia's airborne units. In addition, with its advanced warplanes, Soviet Russia will achieve control of the air in the air route zone and the landing area, and in advance will destroy the communist army's air defense forces on the ground. Therefore, it will be difficult for the communist army's Airborne Force to first seize strategic points and coordinate with antiairborne forces on the ground to jointly wipe out the enemy's airborne forces.

#### V. Conclusion

The Chinese communist's Airborne Force is a "young" special arm, and since its formation it has not directly taken part in airborne operations. Therefore, over the past several years it has been influenced by the theory and reality of the airborne operations of foreign armies. It has set about reforming its operational principles, establishment, and equipment. With regard to operational principles, it has formulated guiding principles in airborne operations for coordination, field survival, rapid reaction, and logistics support suited to its own operational characteristics. With regard to its establishment, it has reformed its recruit training system so that recruit training is separate from the units' training as a whole. However, its reforms in weapons and equipment for military power are still extremely backward, and it is unable to deal properly with its needs for the so-called "future war against aggression." In recent years, to coordinate with the training reforms of the entire army, the Airborne Force of the Chinese communists' Airborne Force has made the following reforms:

A. It has readjusted the allocation and establishment of its equipment, thereby changing the past irrational situation in which the infantry was "overemphasized" and the special arms were "underemphasized."

B. By forming "recruit coaching regiments" it has solved the former problem of recruits and veteran soldiers being "cooked in one pot."

C. Through research on military theory it has created conditions for further modernization and regularization of its military training. For example, it has set up a "simulated 'enemy army' tactical antiairborne battalion" and has staged various kinds of exercises.

Although the Airborne Force is actively pursuing various reforms in an attempt to extricate itself from its backward situation, it must become a highly modernized service arm before it can be suited to modern warfare. With the present reality of the Airborne Force of the Chinese communists' Air Force, obviously the results of its reform will not be produced in a short period of time.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NANJING MR ARTILLERY BRIGADE -- On the morning of 30 July, the Nanjing Military Region artillery brigade stationed in Jiangxi solemnly held a military review which showed the PLA units' spirit and bearing to be even more unified after going through streamlining and reorganization. This brigade took part in the Liao-Shen, Ping-Jin, and Huaihai Campaigns, and the War To Resist Vietnamese Aggression. It has more than 100 model units such as the "Battalion as Solid as Taishan." [Excerpt] [Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 86 p 1]

HEILONGJIANG CONSCRIPTION BEGINS -- Conscription work for the present year recently started. According to the conscription directives of the State Council and Central Military Commission, candidates this year will be youths with junior high school education and above from agricultural families with sufficient manpower; 1985 and 1986 high school graduates from cities and county seats (including graduates of professional high schools); girls will only be conscripted if they are high school graduates this year. Some youths will also be selected from the township factories and mines if they have a high school education. It was disclosed that the number of new recruits in the province will be one-third higher than last year. Towns (townships) which were hard-hit by disasters will have a smaller responsibility or none at all. [Excerpt] [Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 86 p 1]

FUEL TANK MONITORING DEVICE -- The JYY computerized anti-explosion remote liquid metering gauge has been successfully produced by the Engineering Design Office of the Chengdu Military Region Air Force Logistics Department and the state-run Tianfu [1131 1650] Instrument Factory and technically certified at the beginning of August. This metering gauge employs advanced electronics and data capture devices, electro-optical interfaces, and Zener safety grids. It reliably prevents explosions and monitors accurately. It can both monitor fuel tanks with static and dynamic liquids, and can simultaneously measure flow rates, maintain storage levels, and manage inventories. This gauge is a vital element for realizing automated fuel depot management. [Text] [Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 86 p 2]

MILITARY FACTORY COMMODITY PRODUCTION -- PLA Factory 5721 has actively developed commodity production. It recently successfully produced the "Feiyuan [7378 3601] 86A" two-seat pleasure boat. This boat is constructed of fiberglass and is 3.2 meters long. [Excerpts] [Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 86 p 2]

TYPE 83 152MM SP GUN/HOWITZER -- The 152mm tracked self-propelled gun/howitzer has a high muzzle velocity (655 meters/second with full charge), long range (17,200 meters), high rate of fire (4 rounds per minute), semi-automatic loading, high accuracy, good mobility, and excellent protection. Its primary use is in counter-battery operations to suppress the enemy's effective strength and weapons and to destroy enemy field fortifications, and to combat armor. It uses sustained fire to support armored troop movement and to suppress or destroy other targets. [Photo captions, counterclockwise from top] 1) 152mm SP gun/howitzer with its gun crew. 2) Platoon leader uses the radio to maintain liaison with upper and lower levels. 3) First Gunner automatically loads a shell into the chamber. 4) Second Gunner takes a cartridge. 5) Third Gunner passes in propellant from the rear of the vehicle. 6) Layer sets the parameters and repeats orders. 7) On the turret roof is a dual-use 12.7mm machine gun which can be used in ground or air defense modes and is operated by the platoon leader. [Text] [Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI (ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE) in Chinese No 4, 15 Jul 86 p 1]

PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES TRAINING -- After the county and municipal people's armed forces departments [PAFD] were transferred to the local organizations, there were many changes in personnel and their tasks were new. In order to raise the work capability of these personnel and improve organizational command, the provincial military district [Anhui MD] training dadui recently held classes for PAFD commanders of counties and municipalities throughout the province. A total of 120-odd people attended the classes whose major content concerned militia and reserve tasks. On the morning of 2 September, there was a collective training mobilization meeting held by the provincial military district's training dadui. It was attended by Governor Wang Yuzhao and military district Political Commissar Zhang Linyuan who both spoke and presented requirements for collective training. [Text] [Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 86 p 4]

CHEMICAL PLANT TRANSFERRED TO LOCALE -- On 27 August the provincial National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Office struck an agreement with the Lanxi City government to turn a portion of the Yongjin [3057 6651] and Yongxin [3057 2450] Chemical Plants over to Lanxi City to manage. These are the first military enterprises in the province [Zhejiang] to be given to the locales and are an important step for our military enterprises to enter into a civilian industry management structure. Located in Lanxi City, the Yongjin Chemical Plant is an incomplete project of the provincial national defense industries and has a good road system, lots of space, and a certain amount of factory space and utilities. It has great potential for production. The Yongxin Chemical Plant is located in Suichang Xian and is an enterprise producing civilian explosives. It is remotely located and conditions for production are rather poor. In order to adjust this disposition, under the province's guidelines it was decided to move the main civilian production capability of the Yongxin plant to the Yongjin plant, and with technical improvements, to make Yongjin a civilian explosives production center for the whole province and to simultaneously develop other light chemical products. The portion of Yongxin remaining in Suichang Xian will be improved to have a capability for small-scale civilian explosives production and will economically serve the locale. [Text] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 86 p 1]

HELICOPTERS CROSS XIZANG PLATEAU -- Since the development of the airplane, no one has flown across the Ali region of northern Xizang until our military helicopters set this record. The northern Xizang plateau has an average elevation of more than 4,500 meters, its terrain is jagged, and its climate is variable. (From JIEFANGJUN BAO) [Text] [Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 86 p 1]

MILITARY UNIFORM FACTORY -- Factory 3508 is known throughout the southwest because the uniforms worn by the soldiers all have this factory's name on them. [Summary] [Chengdu XI'NAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 7, 10 Jul 86 p 4]

HEAVY CRANE PRODUCED BY MILITIA -- In order to produce a 125 ton vehicle crane, the militia platoon assembly line at the Changjiang Crane Factory of Luzhou, Sichuan, on seven occasions formed breakthrough teams to outstandingly complete their mission. [Text of photo caption] [Chengdu XI'NAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 7, 10 Jul 86 p 10]

MILITARY SUBDISTRICT LEADERS -- Luo Nanxiao [5012 0589 1321], commander of the Tongren Military Subdistrict, Guizhou, authors an article on consolidating military training, supplies, and mobilization. [Editorial Report] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 7, 4 Jul 86 p 20] Jinzhou MSD Commander Cheng Enzhan [4453 1869 7205] and Jinzhou Reserve Division Deputy Division Commander Chen Shenglin [7115 0524 2651] co-author an article about problems in realizing rapid mobilization. [Editorial Report] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 7, 4 Jul 86 p 27]

CHINESE MINES IN VIETNAM -- Mines produced by the Chinese Army have been found floating in the rivers of northern Vietnam. They are stamped with the serial number "93-82-652A." A photo showing the mine is published for civilian recognition. [Editorial Report] [Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Aug 86 p 4]

PHOTOGRAPHS OF MARINE EXERCISES -- How does one adapt to the requirements of modern naval warfare and improve naval integrated operational capability? This has been an important training topic for a certain naval unit in recently organizing combined exercises with various service arms and many types of naval craft. In the past, this unit's training was mostly in coastal waters using single arms and types of ships. There was little training in sea-air and sea-ground coordination. In this instance they boldly reformed past training methods and scientifically organized several dozen topics for deep-sea, coastal, and beachhead exercises. They strengthened all commanders' concept of combining service arms and ships, increased their knowledge of naval combined operations, and improved the unit's capability for quick reaction and integrated operations. [Photo captions, pp 8-9, clockwise from top] 1) A formation of many types of ships is an important part of naval combined operations. 2) Amphibious tanks leave the landing craft and rush towards shore. 3) Helicopters swiftly carry marines to the combat zone. 4) The sea is the best place for commanders to practice war. [pp 10-11] 1) Sea-air coordination provides mutual guidance and explores a new type of training. 2) Marines surge towards the beachhead to completely suppress the enemy's spirit. 3) Troops hitting the beachhead advance under tank cover. 4) The marines risk the smoke and advance towards victory. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO (PLA PICTORIAL) in Chinese No 8, 1 Aug 86 pp 8-11]

LOGISTICS MODERNIZATION--[Photo captions, clockwise from top]  
(Photos are selected from the photo album PLA LOGISTICS) 1) An underground depot stores many types of weapons and equipment, maintaining wartime emergency needs. 2) Chief of the General Logistics Department Hong Xuezhi is full of confidence for improving logistics modernization. 3) A certain communication hub's central exchange needed for modernization. 4) A new medical treatment device--CT--used by the Nanjing Military Region General Hospital will serve the troops even better. 5) A certain materiel depot training in rapid containerized distribution under field conditions. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO (PLA PICTORIAL) in Chinese No 8, 1 Aug 86 pp 16-17]

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